

**Nebraska Historic Resources Intensive Survey of Northern Ponca and  
Santee Sioux Allotment Properties**

Prepared for

**Ponca Tribe of Nebraska  
Santee Sioux Tribe of Nebraska  
Nebraska State Historical Society**

Prepared by

**Thomas Witt, Sean Doyle, and Jason Marmor**

**SWCA Environmental Consultants  
295 Interlocken Boulevard, Suite 300  
Broomfield, Colorado 80021  
303.487.1183**

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## **INTRODUCTION**

On April 9, 2009, SWCA Environmental Consultants (SWCA) entered into a contract with the Nebraska State Historical Society (NSHS) to undertake an intensive survey of buildings associated with the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux allotment period in Knox and Boyd counties, including lands currently included within the Santee Sioux Reservation (Figures 1 through 3). The allotment period is the period associated with the break-up of the reservation system, and the division of former reservation land into individual allotments to Indian households and individuals. Following the General Allotment Act, passed by Congress in 1877, a series of acts was signed by the federal government that imposed allotment policy on United States tribes. For the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux, the allotment period began with the signing of such an act in 1889. The allotment period officially ended in 1934, with the passing of the Indian Reorganization Act, which ended the United States' allotment policy and re-established reservation communities and tribal governments. This survey was sponsored and partially funded by the NSHS with additional grant support provided by the U.S. Department of the Interior and administered by the National Park Service. The project was conducted in accordance with the regulations and guidelines of the Nebraska Historic Resources Survey and Inventory.

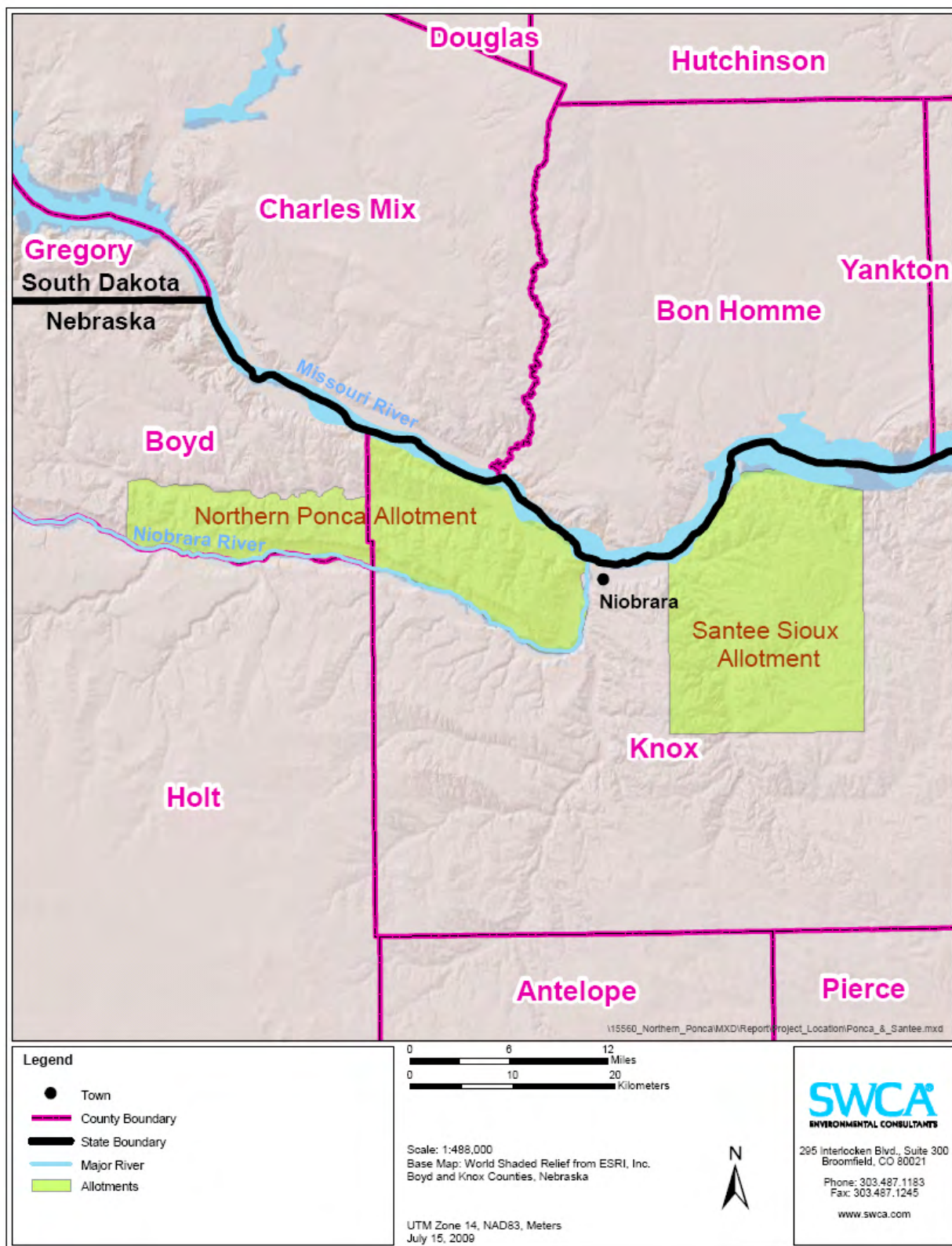
The project was completed by staff from SWCA's Broomfield, Colorado, office. SWCA Historian Dan Shosky served as Principal Investigator. SWCA Historian Thomas A. Witt served as project manager, conducted the field survey and informant interviews, and authored the report, with assistance from SWCA Historical Resources Specialist Sean Doyle. Mr. Shosky and Mr. Witt both meet the Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualifications Standards for Historians and Architectural Historians as specified in Title 36 Code of Federal Regulations (CFR) Part 61.

In 2009, prior to the initiation of fieldwork, a research design was drafted by SWCA outlining the project objectives, research methods, and potential biases of this project. Some of the information drafted in this design is summarized in this report, and the full research design is provided as Appendix A. Preliminary archival research and oral interviews were conducted in June 2009. SWCA's Mr. Shosky and Mr. Doyle visited Lincoln, Nebraska, and gathered primary and secondary documentation on the allotment of the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux Reservations from the NSHS Library and the NSHS Archives' K Street facility. Between June 15 and 17, 2009, SWCA's Mr. Witt met with Stanford "Sandy" Taylor of the Northern Ponca and Clarence Campbell of the Santee Sioux, and conducted interviews regarding their knowledge of the allotment period, and the histories of the families who lived on former allotted lands.

Fieldwork was conducted between October 22 and 24, 2009, by Mr. Witt and Mr. Doyle. Two historic properties were recorded on the former Northern Ponca Reservation and nine historic properties were recorded on the former Santee Sioux Reservation.

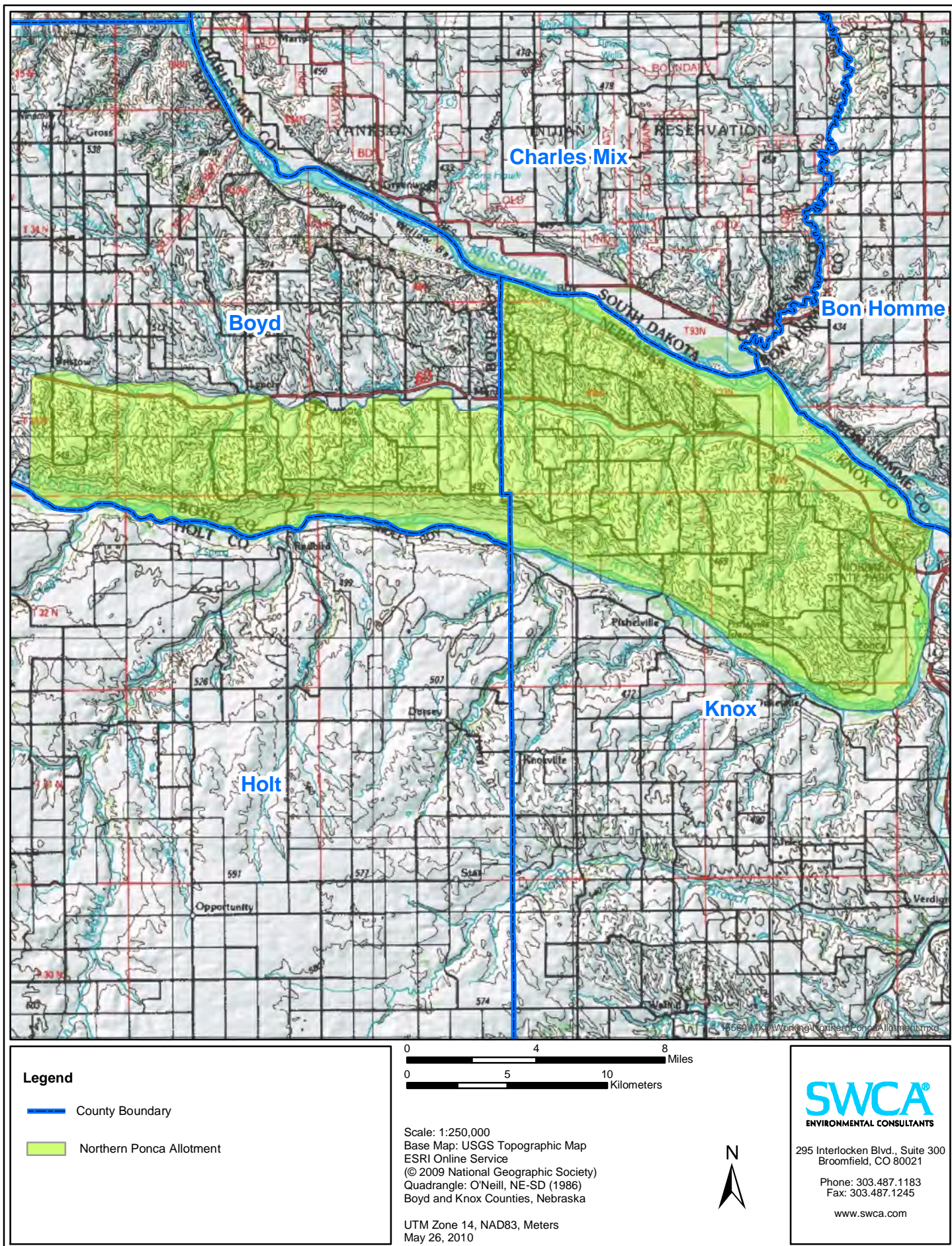
This report documents the results of archival research, oral interviews, and field inspection of allotment buildings conducted by SWCA for the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux Allotment Survey.





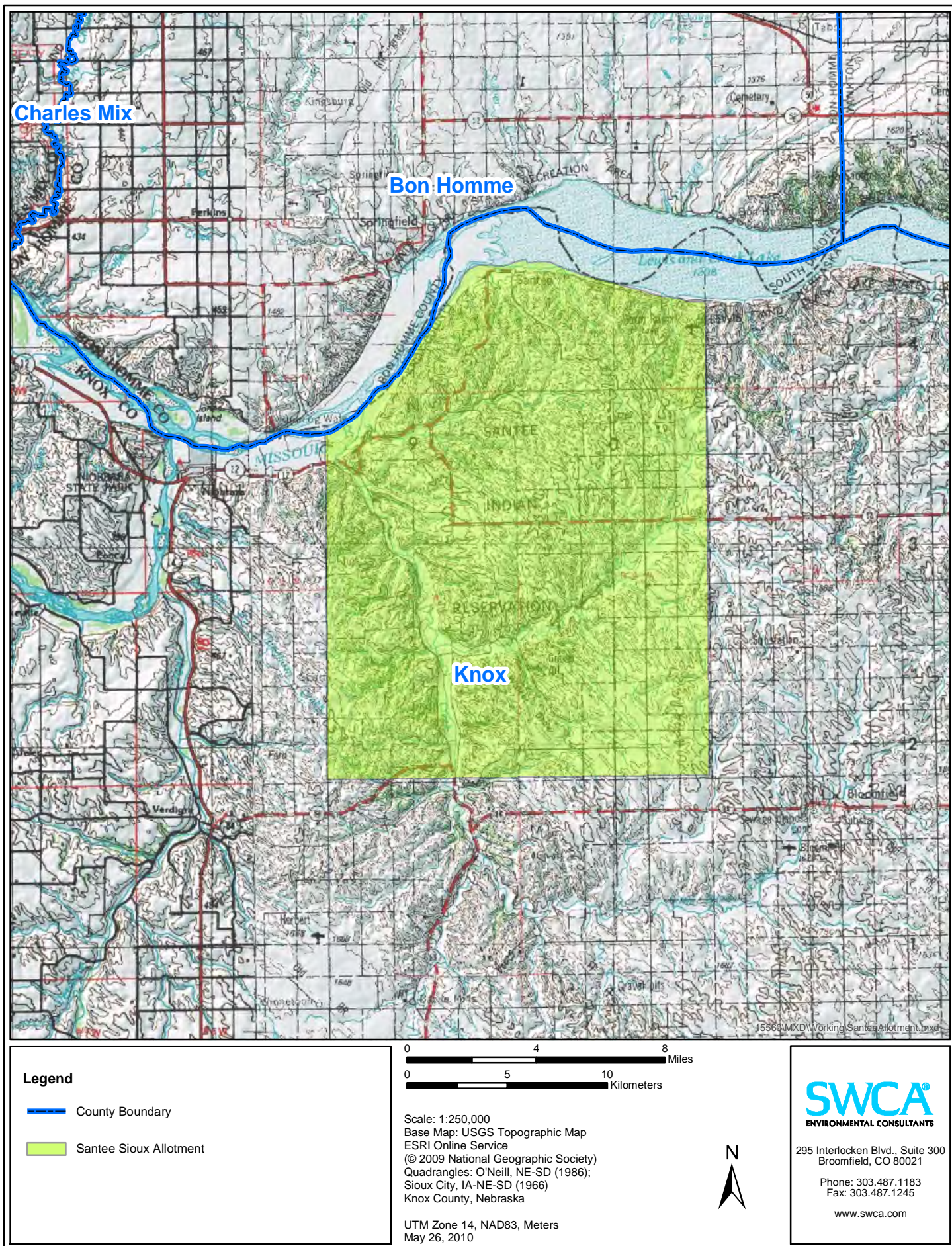
**Figure 1. General location of the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux lands included in the 1889 allotment.**





**Figure 2. Location of the former Northern Ponca Survey Area.**





**Figure 3. Location of the Santee Sioux Survey Area.**



## **PROJECT OBJECTIVES**

The goals of the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux allotment period survey and inventory included 1) the development of a pre-field historic overview, including a history of the allotment period, settlement patterns, and the distribution of the allotments; and 2) reconnaissance and intensive survey of any allotment period buildings still standing within the boundaries of the original allotment lands, including the compilation and assessment of all survey data, recommendations for National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) eligibility, and the completion of the appropriate Nebraska State Historic Preservation Office (NeSHPO) forms documenting each of the recorded buildings.

In addition, archival research, oral interviews, and fieldwork attempted to address specific research questions relevant to the project goals. These research questions are listed below

**Question 1:** What is the location of the allotted lands within the original boundaries of the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux lands?

**Question 2:** Which of the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux allotments have standing structures, and when were these buildings constructed?

**Question 3:** What are the standard architectural characteristics of the allotment houses, if any?

**Question 4:** Which specific laws and acts affected the allotment of Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux lands?

**Question 5:** What was the historical perspective of the allotment period by the Northern Ponca, the Santee Sioux, and by the non-Indian population?

## **HISTORICAL CONTEXT**

Historical events and time periods do not exist in isolated contexts. The period of allotment among the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux technically began in 1889 with the allotment in severalty of their reservation lands, and ended with the passing of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) in 1934. Events leading up to allotment, however, played a large role in the lives of the Ponca and Santee Indian tribes during the allotment period, and the impacts of allotment carried well after the passing of the IRA. While looking at the histories of individuals and communities in the past, a broader view of history needs to be examined to understand the context of those events. Furthermore, with the recognition that history is as much about perspective as it is about fact, to fully understand the history of allotment in severalty in northern Nebraska one needs to look at history from the points of view of the Ponca, the Santee, and the United States Government. This context is therefore broken down both culturally and temporally to best represent the perspectives of the tribes, their non-native neighbors, and the federal government during the allotment period.

## **NORTHERN PONCA PRE-ALLOTMENT (1789–1889)**

The Northern Ponca are generally believed to be culturally derived from the Middle Mississippian Cultures of the Eastern Woodlands, who moved west into the plains as early as 1200 A.D. (Grobsmith and Ritter 1992). Initially, the Ponca were one of many tribes with shared language who lived along the Missouri River including the Omaha, the Osage, the Kansa, and the Quapaw (Taylor 2009). When the Ponca settled in the area, they adopted some of the traditions of other Indians on the Great Plains, such as hunting buffalo (Taylor 2009). The Ponca claim their traditional territory ranged from the Missouri River to the east, the Black Hills and the Rocky Mountains to the west, the White River to the north, and the Platte River to the south. This territory overlapped with many of the Great Plains tribes, who all had frequent disputes and conflicts over hunting territory (Froehling 1993). The Ponca had traditionally allied themselves with the Yankton and Lakota (Teton) Sioux, and often joined them in raids of the other tribes in the region including the Omaha, the Arikara, the Hidatsa, and the Mandan.

The earliest European reference to the Ponca, where they are listed by name, is a 1757 French map that placed the Ponca on the Missouri River, between the Niobrara River and Ponca Creek. J. O. Dorsey's 1884 account of the Omaha references an old Ponca fort composed of earthlodges and fortifications, located at the confluence of the Missouri River and Ponca Creek. The remains of the Ponca Fort (25KX1) were excavated in 1936 and 1937, uncovering a variety of stone tools and European trade goods (Jensen 1971).

The first European to come into contact with the tribe was a Spanish trader of French descent named Jean Baptiste Monier, who first traded with the Ponca in 1789 (Howard 1965). With European and American trade starting as early as the eighteenth century, the Ponca were soon participating in non-native economies, particularly that of the fur trade. It was also around this time that Ponca Fort was abandoned and the tribe relocated closer to Euro-American settlements along the Niobrara River. Sadly, like many Indian tribes, European and American trade brought with it devastating diseases resulting in heavy casualties among the Ponca. In the late eighteenth century, the Ponca numbers were ravaged by a small pox epidemic that reduced the population from 800 in 1790 to only 200 in 1804.

The reduction in population was only one of the many devastating effects resulting from the fur trade. Over hunting caused by the insatiable demand for furs resulted in the depletion of the bison herds, the primary prey amongst Ponca hunting parties (Grobsmith and Ritter 1992). The depletion of the bison herds not only reduced the supply of food and resources used in their daily lives, but also increased competition and conflict with neighboring tribes, and resulted in an increased reliance on trade with Europeans and Euro-Americans. By the middle of the nineteenth century, external pressures and dwindling buffalo herds turned traditional allies into competitors and the Ponca found themselves the victims of raids by their former allies, the Sioux (Froehling 1993).

Increased American activity in the area, from both fur traders and settlers, resulted in numerous treaties between the Northern Ponca and the United States. The earliest treaties signed between the United States and the Ponca made no reference to land, but were focused mainly on promoting peace and facilitating trade (Grobsmith and Ritter 1992). Nevertheless,

these treaties impacted the geography of the Ponca Settlement, as the trade encouraged the tribe to settle closer to the Missouri and Niobrara rivers in order to be closer to fur trade networks (Taylor 2009).

The first treaty to include land negotiations was signed on March 12, 1858. Due to the declining bison herds, and raids by the Lakota Sioux, the Ponca found that they needed to sell some of their land in order to acquire food and supplies necessary for survival. The Treaty in 1858 ceded most of their territory to the United States, except for a small reservation between Ponca Creek and the Niobrara River. Some of the land included in the exchange was land disputed between the Ponca, Omaha, and Pawnee, but since all three tribes had also sold their land to the United States, the point was overlooked in the treaty and the boundaries were assumed by default (Froehling 1993; Grobsmith and Ritter 1992). The treaty was amended in 1865, and an additional 30,000 acres on the west side of their reservation was ceded to the United States in exchange for land between the Niobrara and Missouri rivers, just west of the town of Niobrara (Froehling 1993). In 1865, a new Ponca Agency was established within the boundaries established by the 1865 treaty. Several buildings were built and moved to this agency location, and the Agency continued to operate through the Ponca removal in 1877. None of these buildings remain standing, but several archaeological scatters have been identified at the former agency location. These archaeological remains are listed on the NRHP as the Ponca Agency Archaeological District, and remain the only physical evidence of the brief tenure of the Ponca Agency at this location (Lueck 2006).

The reservation lands outlined in the 1858 and 1865 treaties did not remain under Ponca control for long. In 1868, as part of the Treaty of Fort Laramie, the whole of the Ponca Reservation was given to the Lakota Sioux, and the Ponca, at least according to the United States Government, were left without a home. Whether this was done intentionally as a concession to the Lakota or was a serious oversight on the part of the government is unclear, but if the act was a mistake, it was one the United States was slow to correct. Since the Treaty of Fort Laramie simply overlooked the Ponca, no arrangements were made regarding their presence in Nebraska. They continued to live on their former reservation land, but found themselves frequently preyed upon by the Lakota, and conflicts between the two tribes grew rapidly. As the conflict continued to grow, the United States was forced to step in, and discussions about Ponca removal began (Howard 1965; Grobsmith and Ritter 1992). Since the beginning of their problems with the Sioux, the Ponca themselves had considered removal to Indian Territory as an option. After visiting the proposed sites in Indian Territory, and seeing the condition of the land there, the Ponca decided that they wanted to stay on their lands in Nebraska. The Ponca appealed the decision to remove them to Indian Territory, but their appeal failed and in 1877, the first groups of Ponca were forcibly removed (Howard 1965; Grobsmith and Ritter 1992).

Removal began in January 1877 with a small group of approximately 170 Ponca (mostly Ponca of mixed descent) starting on the long trip to Indian Territory (Howard 1965). This group was led by Antoine Primeaux, the half-French and half-Ponca chief (Taylor 2009). The remaining Ponca had initially refused to leave their land, staying in their homes and resisting the removal. After a few weeks they were persuaded, with the help of government forces, to submit to the removal. The second group including Chief White Eagle and Standing Bear, a secondary Chief, departed on May 17 (Howard 1965; Taylor 2009). Bad weather during the

trip, and poor accommodations made the trip to Indian Territory costly for the Ponca. Although the actual numbers vary by account, numerous deaths were reported, both during the journey and within the first few weeks of their arrival in Indian Territory. One of the Ponca who died during the journey was Prairie Flower, the daughter of Chief Standing Bear (Grobsmith and Ritter 1992).

Although most of the Ponca eventually agreed to leave for Indian Territory, not all of the Ponca consented to the removal. At least 36 Ponca, who had family with neighboring tribes or with non-native settlers in Nebraska, remained in the area. Some of these families would return to the area when the Ponca lands were restored.

The Ponca arrived in Indian Territory in the summer of 1877, but their first location proved to be unsuitable for settlement. Hot and dry conditions, an outbreak of malaria, and their late arrival preventing cultivation for the next year, resulted in many Ponca deaths. The Ponca complained to the government, who decided to move the Ponca to a new location. In the summer of 1878, they were removed again to a new reservation in Indian Territory. The new site proved to have arable land, but their late arrival once again hindered timely cultivation, and with malaria continuing to take its toll on the Ponca, the winter of 1878 proved as difficult as the one before (Froehling 1993).

### **Standing Bear's Trial, and the Return to Nebraska**

Between the journey from Nebraska, and the two harsh winters in 1877–1878 and 1878–1879, the Ponca had lost almost one-third of their numbers (Grobsmith and Ritter 1992). One death of particular note was that of Chief Standing Bear's eldest son. The dying wish of Standing Bear's son, who passed away in the winter of 1879, was to be buried in their traditional homeland around the Niobrara River. Standing Bear (Figure 4) set off from Indian Territory with his son's body in the winter of 1879. Along with Standing Bear came nine Ponca men, including his brother Yellow Horse, and 20 women and children. The group arrived at the Omaha Reservation in 1879, and the residents welcomed the returning Chief and his group. Upon their arrival, however, Standing Bear was immediately arrested. News of Standing Bear's arrest travelled quickly through the small local communities, and when news of the arrest reached the public, several outraged citizens, including the journalist Thomas Henry Tibbles, took action. Tibbles arranged for two prominent attorneys to come to the defense of Standing Bear, filing for a Writ of Habeas Corpus, indicating that the forced removal of Standing Bear and his group represented an unlawful detention under the law (Grobsmith and Ritter 1992).



**Figure 4. Standing Bear, ca. 1881 (National Museum of the American Indian Cat. No. P00474).**

The trial lasted two days, with the lawyers on both sides making their case before Judge Elmer S. Dundy. Standing Bear requested the right to speak, but as he was not a lawyer, his request was denied. Both sides made their case, but in the end, Judge Dundy decided that Standing Bear was indeed a person under the eyes of the law, and deserving of the same rights as any person within the United States. Furthermore, since Standing Bear had severed ties with the Ponca living in Indian Territory, he could not be forcibly sent to go live with them as it would represent illegal detention without due process (Froehling 1993; Tibbles 1957). The trial was concluded, and Standing Bear and his group were allowed to stay in Nebraska, taking up residence on Niobrara Island, the only Ponca land not ceded to the Lakota Sioux in 1868.

The trial of *Standing Bear v. Crook* set an important precedent in the standing of Indians under the United States legal system. According to Judge Dundy's decision, an Indian who had severed ties with their tribe, and was living in "white" society, was entitled to the same rights under United States law as any other citizen. It was therefore illegal to force Standing



Bear or his group of Ponca to live in Indian Territory. The decision would also lay the groundwork for United States citizenship for the Northern Ponca (Mathes and Lowitt 2003).

Still unable to return to their former reservation lands, the Ponca who returned with Standing Bear (along with some of the families who had stayed in the area with Omaha or non-native relatives) began to build new homes on Niobrara Island. Two of the Ponca, Smoke Maker and Buffalo Chip, built their cabins on the mainland to the west of Niobrara Island. The Ponca in Nebraska were soon joined by an additional 66 Ponca from Indian Territory, who also settled on Niobrara Island.

Although Standing Bear's group of Ponca were allowed to remain in Nebraska, it would not be the end of their legal battles with the United States Government. The 1880s saw a series of legal struggles for the Ponca, as they tried to obtain access to their reservation land in Nebraska, and sought reparations for the injustice of their dispossession and removal (Froehling 1993). Some of these conflicts put them at odds with the Ponca living in Indian Territory led by Chief White Eagle, who also needed resources to support their settlements. In the end, a series of legal actions, settlements, and presidential orders resulted in the separation of the Ponca into the Northern Ponca in Nebraska and the Southern Ponca in Indian Territory. The Northern Ponca were allowed to return to their land in Knox County, Nebraska, and \$165,000 in restitution was appropriated. These funds were distributed in part as an annuity and in part in the form of agricultural supplies, cattle, houses, and schools (Froehling 1993; Grobsmith and Ritter 1992).

Although the Northern Ponca were allowed to return to their reservation land in Knox County, the land was still officially part of the reservation of the Great Sioux Nation. This status would remain until 1889, when an act to break up the Sioux Nation was passed, which led to the allotment of the Sioux and Northern Ponca lands in Nebraska, with all the remaining lands open for Euro-American settlement (Froehling 1993; Grobsmith and Ritter 1992).

### **SANTEE SIOUX PRE-ALLOTMENT (1640–1889)**

The Santee Sioux are part of the larger "Sioux Nation," which generally refers to a group of seven loosely organized tribes who ranged across the Great Plains and who shared a similar language group and culture. The seven tribes of Sioux were further divided into many bands, each of which had their own political leadership. Although represented as a loose confederation of tribes, the Sioux recognized a shared kinship, with leaders from the seven tribes meeting every year to re-establish kinship ties (Meyer 1993). The seven tribes of the Sioux are generally broken down into the four eastern tribes (Santee) consisting of the Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Wahpeton, and the Sisseton; the two middle tribes (Yankton) consisting of the Yanktonai and Yankton; and the western, and largest tribe known as the Lakota or the Teton (Johnson and Smith 2000).

The French first encountered the Santee Sioux in Minnesota around 1640. The expansion of the fur trade, and later conflicts between the European powers east of the Mississippi, resulted in increasing conflict between the various tribes along the Mississippi, both Sioux and non-Sioux (Johnson and Smith 2000). These conflicts, along with the competition for the fur trade, drove the Yankton and Lakota Sioux farther west, into the Dakotas. The Santee Sioux, who

had remained in Minnesota, benefitted initially from the fur trade, acting as middle-men in the trade of western furs for imported European and American goods. Through a series of treaties starting in 1837, the Sioux began to cede much of their land to the United States, who was hungry to open more land for settlement. The last of these treaties was signed in 1851, in which the Santee ceded the remainder of their land in Minnesota, except for a small reservation on the banks of the Minnesota River, in return for money, food, and supplies to be provided over 50 years (Robinson 2003).

As was the case with many Indian tribes in the United States, interaction with fur traders, and western economies resulted in a high level of debt to Euro-American merchants and traders. The Santee were no exception to this, and when they sold their land, much of the cash they were meant to receive was immediately used to pay off past debts (Gibbon 2003). To make matters worse, food rations, promised as part of the sale of Santee territory, were slow in coming to the Santee. The problem was further complicated with the outbreak of the Civil War. With resources dedicated to the war effort, shipments of food and other necessary supplies were often late, or never arrived. With hunting parties finding less and less game due to increased settlement and overhunting, and their annuities and rations delayed, discontent and hostility amongst the Santee grew (Debo 1970).

The problems between the United States and the Santee came to a head with the Santee uprising in 1862. When President Abraham Lincoln took office in 1860, the change in administration brought with it new government-appointed officials. One such appointment was Thomas Galbraith, who became the Sioux Agent in Minnesota. The change of government did not bring about more efficient deliveries of goods, and ration shipment to the Minnesota Sioux Agency continued to be slow to arrive. In 1862, only a portion of the annuities promised to the Sioux were received by the Sioux Agency. Relatively new to his position, in 1862 Galbraith decided that he would hold off on sending the annuities and rations to the Santee until all of the goods had arrived. In August 1862, the Santee, who were suffering from food shortages and increasing debts from neighboring traders, petitioned Galbraith to release some of the food rations that had already arrived. Galbraith refused, and his refusal eroded what little confidence the Santee had left in the United States Government. Tensions reached their tipping point, and finally erupted in the fall of that year.

The Santee uprising began with the murder of a Euro-American settler family by four Santee Sioux returning from a hunting trip (Meyer 1993). After the murder, the four Santee returned to the reservation, and Little Crow, the chief of the lower agency, decided that since war was inevitable, they should be the aggressors. The uprising was short, but bloody, ending in less than two months with the surrender of the Sioux in late September 1862 (Meyer 1993). Officially the uprising was concluded with the surrender of the Sioux, but several groups of Sioux, including one led by Little Crow, fled to the west. Several expeditions were sent after the Sioux, in part to continue the retribution for the uprising, and in part to protect the citizens of the Dakota Territory from further acts of violence. The expeditions, while successful in continuing the campaign against the Sioux (and resulting in the death of Little Crow in 1863), further antagonized the already poor relations between the United States and the Western tribes (Meyer 1993).

The United States responded quickly to the Santee uprising. Over 2,000 Santee were collected and put on trial for rape and murder, and at the end of the trial, 303 Santee men were found guilty and sentenced to death (Meyer 1993). Before the executions could take place, a Minnesotan Episcopal bishop, Reverend Henry Whipple, wrote a letter of appeal to President Lincoln, claiming that the Santee had ample cause for the uprising. Lincoln decided that only those who committed acts of murder and rape would be executed, and those who simply took part in armed conflicts during the uprising would be treated as prisoners of war (Debo 1970). In the end, 38 Santee men were executed by hanging on December 26, 1862.

The United States was then faced with the question of what to do with the Santee who remained in Minnesota. As a result of the uprising, the United States passed a pair of acts in 1863 titled, "An Act for the Relief of Persons for Damages sustained by Reason of Depredations and Injuries by certain Bands of Sioux Indians" and "An Act for the Removal of the Sisseton, Wahpaton, Medwakanton, and Wahpakoota Bands of Sioux or Dakota Indians." The first act abrogated all prior treaties with the Sioux, eliminated the Santee reservation in Minnesota, and cancelled the annuities owed them as part of the 1851 treaty. This treaty, however, made no mention of what to do with the displaced Santee. The second act was to provide for 80 acres to be granted for every Santee on good farming land outside of any state boundaries with the sale of their land in Minnesota to be used to pay for additional equipment or services for the agricultural use of the new Santee land (Meyer 1993).

After conclusion of the trial and the dissolution of the Minnesota reservation, the Santee were removed to a hastily selected site near the mouth of Crow Creek, west of the Missouri River in present-day Buffalo County, South Dakota. Although the land was arable, the sparse tree cover and dry climate made the area difficult to farm. In addition, the cattle they were provided were of poor quality. When the cattle were sent to be slaughtered they were scrawny and weak, and the meat that came back was unpalatable, and insufficient to meet the dietary needs of the Santee (Jackson et al. 1917; Meyer 1993). To make matters worse, some instances of corruption or neglect were noted by John Williamson, a missionary living among the Santee at Crow Creek. Williamson noted that in at least one case, the Crow Creek Indian agent exchanged some of the Santee oxen with parties passing through the area, in return for lame oxen which he handed over to the Santee. Williamson also noted that the Santee lacked adequate medical treatment and that in 1865 they had been without a physician or medicines for the past year (United States of America 1867). The three years that the Santee spent at Crow Creek were harsh, and resulted in many deaths. Many never again spoke openly of their time spent at Crow Creek (Campbell 2009).

In 1866, the Santee were removed from Crow Creek, and a reservation was established for them, under the order of President Andrew Johnson. The reservation was located in Knox County, Nebraska, in an area that had been previously open to homesteading. Under presidential order Townships 31, 32, and 33 of Range 4, and Townships 31, 32, and 33 of Range 5, in Knox County, Nebraska, were established as the reservation boundaries for the Santee Sioux, and the few homesteaders residing in those townships were forced to vacate their land (Kappler 1904).

In 1869, a small group of about 25 Santee families decided to leave Nebraska, give up their annuity rights, and settle on homesteads on the Big Sioux River in South Dakota. This group

would become known as the Flandreau Santee. Although this group was politically independent of the Santee in Nebraska, and had forgone reservation life for settlement on homesteads, they were still included in the annuities established as part of the Act of March 2, 1889 (U.S. House of Representatives 1882).

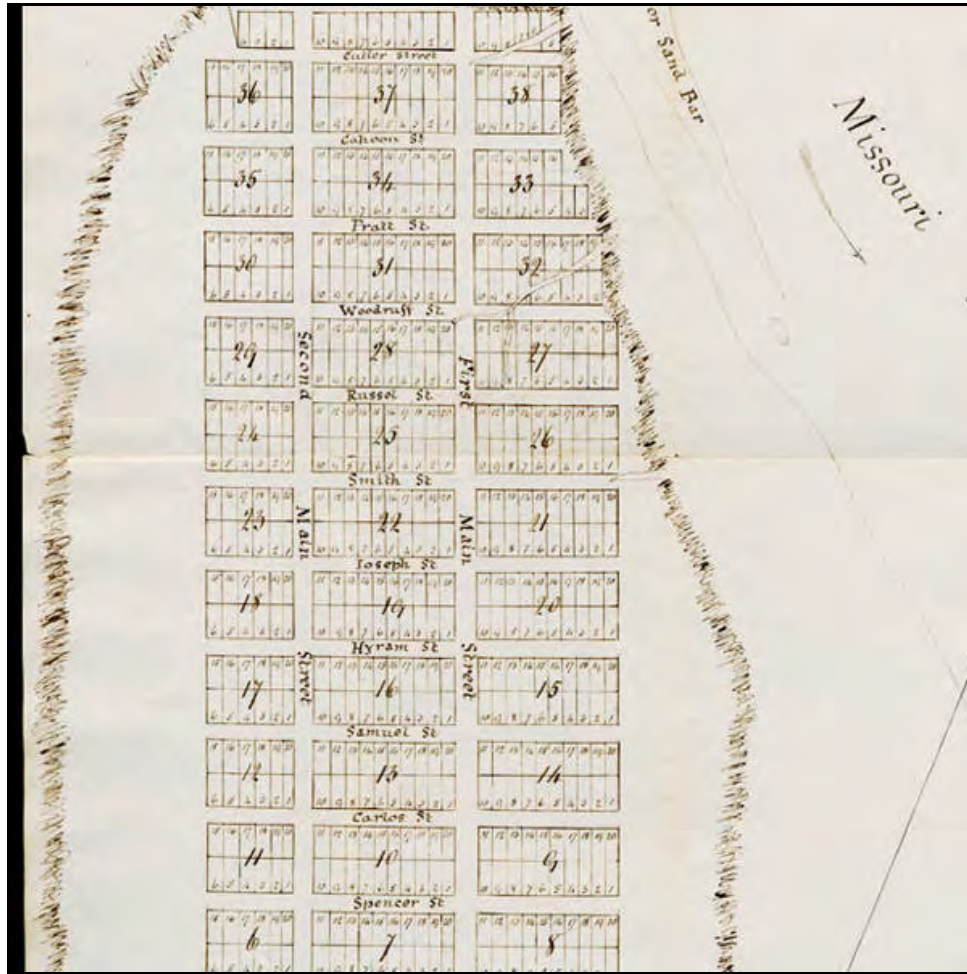
Although the passing of the General Allotment Act in 1887, which allotted the lands of tribes living within Indian Territory (Oklahoma), did not impact the Santee living in Nebraska, the Act was the blueprint for the later acts which resulted in the allotment of most tribes living in the West. On March 2, 1889, an act was passed to break up the reservation of the Sioux Nation, which included most of western South Dakota and part of northern Nebraska.

### **AMERICAN SETTLEMENT OF NEBRASKA, PRE-ALLOTMENT (1846–1889)**

Like most of the land between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, the earliest Europeans to pass through the area were explorers and fur traders, looking for viable trade routes, trade partners, and sources for furs and pelts. Although bison ranged through parts of Nebraska, once traders and trappers made contact with Indian groups in the Dakotas, Nebraska became more important as a transportation route between Indians in the northern plains and the fur trading center in Saint Louis (Olson and Naugle 1997). Although the fur trade had impacts on the area, as discussed in earlier sections, the fur trade did not result in any permanent settlements in Knox or Boyd counties.

The first semi-permanent settlers in the area came in 1846, when a group of Mormons arrived in the Ponca territory in present-day Knox and Boyd counties. A group of around 400 Mormons led by George Miller arrived in Nebraska in 1846 and spent a winter living north of the Niobrara adjacent to the Ponca. The Mormons built a temporary settlement for the winter months, and had regular interactions with the Poncas, but with the arrival of spring, had moved on, continuing their journey west (Bennet 2004). Several groups of Mormons set up winter camps in Nebraska, some of which proved to be elaborate, well planned communities. A plan of a larger winter camp at Florence, Nebraska, north of Omaha, showed planned building locations along with named streets (Figure 5). These camps were only a temporary stopping point for the winter, however, and with the coming of spring in 1847, the Mormons continued on their journey west.

The Nebraska Territory was officially opened for settlement after the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. With the open lands available, settlers soon followed, with most of the early settlements located along the Missouri River, starting in the south, and working their way north along with the river trade (Findlay 1988). The earliest permanent settlement in Knox County was the first Niobrara settlement. Settled in June 1856, the town soon attracted a group of men from Council Bluffs who formed the L'Eau Qui Court Company. By 1857, the town had a general store and more than 60 men, and had been established as the county seat for the county (originally L'Eau Qui Court County, and changed to Knox County in 1873). The town was wiped out in a flood in 1881 and was rebuilt on higher ground southwest of the original location (Findlay 1988).



**Figure 5. Plan for the Mormon winter camp at Florence, Nebraska (north of Omaha)  
(Bullock 1816–1885).**

With the passing of the Homestead Act in 1862, additional settlements were established. The steady trade along the Missouri River allowed small settlements to thrive in the absence of major trails or railroads. By 1858, the Ponca, who had become more dependent on American trade than on the dwindling bison herds, had ceded much of their land in exchange for Euro-American goods and supplies. Although there were periodic conflicts between settlers and the Ponca living in the area, relations between Indian and Euro-American settlers were generally peaceful.

The arrival of the Santee Sioux in Knox County in 1865 resulted in some resentment from the Euro-American settlers. By presidential decree, parts of six townships in Knox County, some of which had been previously settled by Euro-Americans, were given to the Santee Sioux for their reservation. This created some resentment on the part of the Euro-American settlers living in the area, who were displaced by their arrival. Accustomed to a pattern of decreasing Indian lands with expanding non-native settlement, the loss of settler land to the newly arrived Santee was met with some anger and resentment. One such resident, Solomon Draper, in his “Historical Sketch of Knox County, Nebraska” (1876), expressed his anger at the

displacement of the Euro-American settlers. Draper claimed that the government was in error by providing the land in Knox County to the Santee Sioux, citing the Act of March 3, 1863, which stated that the land provided to the Santee should be unoccupied, and outside of the boundaries of any state (Draper 1876).

Draper's anger extended to the Ponca as well, complaining about the treaty that secured Niobrara Island for the tribe. Although the history written by Draper represents one voice out of many who lived in Knox and surrounding counties, many of the Euro-American settlers grew to see the presence of the Santee and the Ponca as a threat, or at least as a hindrance to Euro-American settlement. Although violent encounters with the two tribes were few and far between, tensions between settlers and their Indian neighbors were high, calling some to want action to be taken by the government.

### **The United States at Large, and the Policy of Allotment in Severalty**

The question of the "Indian Problem" as it was referred to had been an ongoing issue for the United States, as it had been for colonial governments before it. The idea of integration and assimilation was introduced in some of the earliest treaties with the Indians east of the Mississippi. These ideas continued into the nineteenth century with Jeffersonian Democrats, who believed that integration in Euro-American culture was the most beneficial thing for Indian tribes. Ideas of "civilizing" the "savage" became a common theme in the discourse surrounding Indian policy in the United States, an idea that continued into the allotment period (Limerick 1987).

Most of the Indian policies developed by the United States were developed as a compromise between the interests of those who wanted to open up more land and resources for Americans, and those who were "sympathetic" to the plight of the American Indian. Indian removal in the 1830s was an attempt to please both the settlers' demand for more land, who were pushing for a less peaceful approach to the "Indian Problem," and Jeffersonian Democrats who wished to allow the Indians to live on their own lands in peace (Limerick 1987). Removal and reservation policy in the United States continued until the end of the nineteenth century, allowing Indians their own land (albeit in newer and less favorable locations), while keeping them just ahead of westward expansion.

At the end of the Civil War, Americans who had supported the abolition of slavery, found themselves without a cause. While there was apathy towards reconstruction policy in the south and the plight of the now freed slaves, some groups began to appear to take on a new cause, the plight of the American Indian. Missionaries such as Reverend Henry Whipple, who had supported the Santee in Minnesota, often argued for more humanitarian approaches to the treatment of Indians. The reports from missionaries in the west helped fuel eastern groups such as the "Friends of the Indian." The Friends of the Indian was established in 1883 and like many of the groups sympathetic to the Indian plight, advocated more paternalistic approaches to Indian policy while believing that "civilizing" the Indian could be achieved by encouraging private property, sedentism, Christianity, and American citizenship (Ellis 1972; Hoxie et al. 2001; Limerick 1987).

Indian agents for the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) were meant not only to act as intermediaries between the government and the tribes, but were also there to help provide resources and assistance to the tribes in their adjustment to a more American way of life. Indian agents were appointed by government officials, and were not always looking out for the best interests of the tribes they oversaw. Corruption was rampant from many places along the chain of command, which often resulted in negative results for the tribes themselves, as rations were detained or rerouted, and land disputes and abuses towards the tribes were overlooked. But even among those who wished to do right by the tribes they were responsible for, the belief that assimilation was a better course for the Indians was widely accepted.

Allotment in severalty, while not a new concept even at the time of the General Allotment Act in 1887, was a solution that seemed to please all parties (with the exception perhaps of the Indians themselves who were not often consulted on Indian policy). For expansionists, it allowed for additional American settlement by freeing up non-allotted lands for homesteading. For those sympathetic to the Indian cause, the belief in the civilizing effect of private property and commercial enterprise made allotment seem like a favorable way to end the “savage” ways of the western Indian. Even Thomas Henry Tibbles, the journalist and advocate for the Ponca during the Standing Bear trial, supported allotment policy, believing it was the best way for the Ponca to integrate into American society (Tibbles 1957).

Others were less favorable towards the idea of allotment. A delegation of Creek Indians was sent to address the House of Representatives in 1882, with regards to the United States allotment policy. The Creek delegation presented evidence that among many tribes for whom allotment in severalty had already taken place, populations had decreased, the amount of land being farmed had diminished, and overall the lives of the Indians had been worsened (U.S. House of Representatives 1882). Although voices of dissent were present, they were too few, when compared to the strong voices of allotment supporters. The Dawes Act was initially seen as a great success, and the policy soon began to spread to the other tribes across the country. With popular opinion on their side, the United States passed the Act of March 2, 1889, which broke up the Sioux nation, and provided for the allotment in severalty of both the Sioux and Ponca lands in South Dakota and Nebraska.

## **ALLOTMENT IN SEVERALTY AND RELATED LEGISLATION**

The concept of allotment and the “civilizing” of the American Indian predates the General Allotment Act by several centuries. The discourse of some of the earliest treaties, enacted under colonial governments in the seventeenth century, includes the idea of introducing Indians to a sedentary lifestyle, Christianity, and the benefits of agriculture (Miles 1999). Although mention of individually allotted land did appear in discussions of Indian policy in both colonial governments and in early United States policy, it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that allotment was included in any treaties or acts with Indian groups.

The General Allotment Act (also known as the Dawes Act), which passed through Congress in 1887, was not the first allotment legislation enacted by the United States Government. Several earlier treaties made provisions for tribal lands to be allotted to individuals for the purposes of removing tribal ownership of land in favor of private ownership. The earliest treaties to include allotment policies were formed in the 1850s, during President Andrew

Jackson's administration. Initially, these policies were voluntary, with title to the land being offered with brief trust periods during which the land was tax exempt. In most cases, these treaties included language allowing the government to revoke the patents, should the holder break certain conditions associated with their "Americanization," such as excessive drinking, or practicing traditional religious practices (Froehling 1993).

The Dawes Act, while not responsible for the allotment of Ponca or Santee Sioux land, was the model which all subsequent allotment legislation would follow. The Dawes Act took the reservations located in Indian Territory, removed the communal ownership of the reservation as a whole, and divided the land into individual allotments. Under the Act, each head of family was entitled to 160 acres of land, 80 acres to every single person over the age of 18 and any orphaned children, and 40 acres for each child under 18. Former reservation boundaries no longer held any meaning and were simply paper boundaries marking the pre-allotment boundaries of the reservation. A trust period was put in place that held the title of the land for 25 years, during which time it was expected that the allottee would learn to farm, become educated, convert to Christianity, and be ready to integrate into American society (Froehling 1993). After the trust period had ended, all the members of the allotted tribes were to become United States citizens (Kappler 1904). Any lands not allotted to individuals, or selected as tribally held allotted land, would be opened to settlement under the Homestead Act (Froehling 1993).

### **Allotment Legislation for the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux**

The Treaty with the Ponca in 1858, which created the reservation between Ponca Creek and the Niobrara River, included some language regarding the allotment of land. Under article 5 of the treaty, the Ponca were given the option of dividing their land into individual allotments themselves, and establishing property rights according to tribal laws (Kappler 1904). There is no record of any allotments being formed under this treaty.

There is some indication that the opening of the Santee Sioux and Northern Ponca reservation for Euro-American settlement was expected as early as 1885. A document produced by the U.S. Department of the Interior gave clear instructions to homesteaders looking to apply for patents on Santee Sioux and the "Niobrara Indian Reservation" (U.S. Department of the Interior 1885). The instructions indicated that the land would be open for settlement in May 1885. This was not the case, and the reservation remained closed to Euro-American settlement until the passing of the Act of March 2, 1889.

The allotment of Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux lands took place under Chapter 405 of the Act of March 2, 1889, "An act to divide a portion of the reservation of the Sioux Nation of Indians in Dakota into separate reservations and to secure the relinquishment of the Indian title to the remainder, and for other purposes" (25 Stat. 888). Under this act, the Northern Ponca and the Santee were entitled to allotments of 320 acres for each head of family, 160 acres for a single person over 18 years of age and for orphans, and 80 acres for every person under 18 years of age. These acreages were double what the Dawes Act allowed for. The trust period was the same as the Dawes Act, with the land held in trust for 25 years.



In addition to the allotted lands, each Santee Sioux or Northern Ponca head of family or single adult who received an allotment would be:

provided with two milk cows, one pair of oxen, with yoke and chain, or two mares and one set of harness in lieu of said oxen, yoke and chain, as the Secretary of the Interior may deem advisable, and they shall also receive one plow, one wagon, one harrow, one hoe, one axe, and one pitchfork, all suitable to the work they may have to do, and also fifty dollars in cash; to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior in aiding such Indians to erect a house and other buildings suitable for residence or the improvement of his allotment...That for two years the necessary seeds shall be provided to plant five acres of ground into different crops, if so much can be used, and provided that in the purchase of such seed preference shall be given to Indians who may have raised the same for sale, and so much money as shall be necessary for this purpose is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. (Kappler 1904)

In addition, an annuity was established which was to be appropriated under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior. One half of the interest on the annuity was to be spent on the promotion of industrial or other educational purposes, and the other half to be provided in cash payments as the Secretary saw fit (25 Stat 888). These funds were to provide for the Santee Sioux, the Northern Ponca, and the Flandreau Santee in South Dakota.

With the passing of the Act of March 2, 1889, all of the land previously controlled by the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux was either allotted to individuals of those tribes, or opened for Euro-American settlement. In 1900, 167 allotments had been established for Northern Ponca individuals, for a total of 27,202 acres. At the same time, 848 allotments had been established among the Santee Sioux, for a total of 71,783 acres. With the remainder of the land open to homesteading, Euro-American settlers acquired much of the former Ponca and Santee reservation land. The earliest homestead patents on the former Ponca and Santee reservation lands were filed in the first decade of the twentieth century. Given the five-year "improvement" period for most homestead claims, the earliest Euro-American settlers do not appear to have been living on former Ponca and Santee reservation land until the late 1890s.

The Act of 1889 set the trust period for the allotments at 25 years. With the first allotments established in 1891, this made the end of the trust period 1916. This meant that the U.S. Government held the title for the land through the trust period, making the land tax free, and preventing sale of the allotment. It also meant that the property could not be mortgaged to acquire or put up as collateral for loans. After 25 years, the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux would receive the fee title to their allotment, and the transition from allotment to private ownership would be complete. As private land holders, the Ponca and Santee were able to mortgage their land, or sell the whole allotment, or portions of it, outright.

By the early twentieth century, several amendments to the Act of 1889, and additional legislation regarding allotment lands, had been passed that allowed land to be removed from trust before the 25-year trust period had expired. Much like allotment itself, these laws were not drafted specifically to cheat the Northern Ponca or Santee Sioux out of their land, but in

the end, these laws resulted in large acreages of Indian land passing into Euro-American ownership.

The first of these acts, passed on May 27, 1902, allowed for the sale of inherited land, which required the removal of the land from the trust. Inheritance of allotted lands was not determined by the will of the deceased, but by territorial law, which stated that each heir received an equal portion of the allotted land (Froehling 1993; Kappler 1904). With Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux populations on the rise at the turn of the century, the death of the original allottee sometimes resulted in more than 10 heirs to a property. For example, when Brokenjaw, a Northern Ponca, passed away, his land was divided equally among 98 heirs. Dividing this land evenly among the heirs resulted in parcels so small that they were useless for farming or for leasing. Even when heirs combined their lands, it was rarely sufficient to meet the needs of large families, and so land sale was the most economic option for the use of the land. In the short term, the sale of inherited land was a favorable solution for both the government and the allottees. In the long term, however, it resulted in further alienation of Indian land in Nebraska, and scattered families far afield, as the loss of the land forced them to leave the area in search of employment.

A second act that impacted Indian land sales was the Burke Act, passed in 1906. The Burke Act provided for the removal of land from the trust and the issuance of a fee patent if the allottee applied for it, and was proven to be “competent” (Froehling 1993). The question of “competency” was not defined by this act, and no set standards or guidelines were established to determine who was “competent” and who was not. The agent in charge, or the “boss farmer,” could determine competency based on whatever criteria he saw fit. Like many of the regulations regarding allotment, the idea was intended (at least on the surface) to be beneficial to the Indians. The Burke Act would allow the allottees to free themselves of any government restrictions on their land, and become free farmers like their neighbors. The result, similar to the inherited land act, was that large acreages of land were sold off for quick cash, often to pay off debts incurred to local merchants or to relocate to places where employment was more plentiful.

In 1907, an additional decision by congress allowed for the sale of land of allottees determined to be “non-competent” by the Indian agent (Froehling 1993). The land would be sold by the Indian agent, and an annuity provided for the original allottee. As with the determination of “competency,” there were no set criteria for determining someone as “non-competent” and the decision was left entirely at the discretion of the Indian agent.

From the government perspective, most of the additional acts and laws passed regarding allotment were written to remove layers of bureaucracy, hassle that the management of allotted lands required. That said, the increased value of land in the early twentieth century, and the influx of western migration by Euro-American settlers, certainly motivated many land agents, boss farmers, and land speculators to take advantage of these laws to alienate additional allotted land for private sale.

## **The End of Allotment: Reorganization and Termination**

Although for the Northern Ponca and the Santee Sioux the trust on allotment lands (after the 10-year extension) ended in 1926, the allotment period itself is considered to continue until 1934 with the passing of the IRA (Limerick 1987). The IRA was drafted, in part, to alleviate the damage that the Dawes Act had done on Indian land ownership. The act ended allotment in severalty on reservation land, extended the trust period on existing allotments indefinitely, and returned to the tribes any surplus lands within former reservation boundaries, provided it did not impact any existing land owner or the public interest. The act also provided limited funding for development of Indian commerce, tuition, and public works, and allowed each tribe to draft a charter for their own organization. Furthermore, any tribe that chose not to participate in the IRA could choose to do so with a majority vote of its members (Deloria, Jr. 2002).

Although allotment ownership continued after the passing of the IRA, it officially terminated allotment in severalty, and brought the allotment period to a close. Sadly, for both the Northern Ponca and the Santee Sioux, allotment in severalty had done irreparable damage to the Indian land base. Allotment had alienated more than 90,000 acres of Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux land by 1935 (Indian Land Tenure Foundation 2009), most of which was privately owned by Euro-American farmers and would not be returned by the IRA. The loss of land, coupled with out migration as Ponca and Santee were forced to find work abroad, resulted in low populations within the allotted lands and in 1953 when the U.S. Government enacted their termination policy, the loss of land and tribal presence would prove a crippling blow for many tribes.

## **NORTHERN PONCA DURING THE ALLOTMENT PERIOD (1889–1934)**

With the passing of the Act of March 2, 1889, the Northern Ponca lands in Knox and Boyd counties were divided up into individual allotments. As with most of the Indian reservations broken up under the policy of allotment in severalty, a large part of the land that was left was opened for American settlement. Although the law passed in 1889, the earliest Northern Ponca allotments were established in 1891.

In total, 26 men, woman, and children returned with Standing Bear to Nebraska. Among those who came back with Standing Bear were Buffalo Chip, Little Duck and Standing Bear's brother Yellow Horse. The 26 returning Ponca were joined by others who had remained in Nebraska during the removal. Between 1879 and 1891, several other groups of Ponca returned to Nebraska including some of the first allottees like Smoke Maker and Bird Head, while others who had returned with Standing Bear decided to go back to Oklahoma. In 1891 when the first allotments of the Northern Ponca lands were established, the population of the Northern Ponca was between 200 and 250 people. A large percentage of these were Ponca from families who had remained in the surrounding area during removal (Froehling 1993). Not all of these families would stay in Nebraska, however. According to records of the Commission on Indian Affairs, the population of the Northern Ponca dropped immediately following 1891, likely due to many Northern Ponca deciding to return to Oklahoma to live with relatives in Indian Territory.

The Ponca who stayed in Nebraska began selecting their allotments in 1891. Most of the allotments were concentrated in the eastern portion of the Ponca lands, near the Niobrara and Missouri rivers, and across from their settlement on Niobrara Island (Froehling 1993; Taylor 2009). Other allotments were established along Ponca Creek, and small tributaries and creeks. Land near water appears to have been favored, with 102 of the 165 allotments directly adjacent to water, although in some cases, the small creeks and streams on these allotments were not sufficient for irrigated agriculture (Froehling 1993). Another factor in allotment locations was the proximity to the town of Niobrara, where goods could be purchased, or surplus crops could be sold. Proximity to Niobrara made the eastern end of the former reservation an attractive location for the allottees. This area was also near the Ponca Agency, and was part of the former Ponca Reservation that had been heavily settled prior to removal, making it familiar territory to those returning.

Unlike homesteaders, who often tried to establish contiguous patents within a family to expand their usable acreage, many of the allottees split their acreage of several different locations (Taylor 2009). This may not have been by choice, as arable lands along waterways likely filled up quickly (Froehling 1993). In some cases however, the selection of allotments may have been intentional, such as in the case of Buffalo Chip, who, in addition to his land across from Niobrara Island, also acquired an allotment along the course of the Missouri where the Fremont, Elkhorn and Missouri Valley Railroad passed. Other families would acquire their family allotment in one location, with the children obtaining contiguous allotments in another part of the county.

The Act of March 2, 1899, established a trust period for allotted lands of 25 years. After the trust period, the allottee would receive a fee patent for the land, and the land would be completely under their control. Since the first patents were filed in 1891, the trust period officially ended in 1916. By the time the trust period had ended, a large percentage of the allotted land had already been taken out of trust and sold. Legislation listed in the previous section, which allowed the removal of inherited land from trust (1902), and the early removal of land from trust by Indians deemed to be “competent” (Burke Act, 1906), began to erode the amount of land controlled by the Northern Ponca in the early twentieth century.

Farming was not proving to be a successful venture for the Northern Ponca, and many were quick to take advantage of the new laws, and sell off their allotted land. Most of the allotments contained less than 160 contiguous acres, and, although most had sufficient water for irrigation, they lacked sufficient land for anything other than subsistence farming. Expanding their land holdings was difficult, since most of the neighboring lands were allotments themselves, and not open for sale, or were owned by non-native farmers who were also looking to expand their holdings. Furthermore, the lack of capital to secure farm equipment and supplies limited the agricultural potential of the allotments. Securing credit for supplies was difficult, and without ownership of their land, mortgaging the allotment was not possible. With insufficient acreage and limited supplies, farming was not a viable option for most Northern Ponca, who found it more beneficial to lease their land to non-native farmers, rather than work the land themselves.

## **Lease Agreements**

In 1891, around the time that most of the Northern Ponca allotments were issued, Congress passed an act that allowed for the leasing of allotments for up to three years (Kappler 1904). Allottees were required to keep at least 40 acres for their own personal use, but the remainder of their allotment could be leased to other farmers who greatly desired the additional agricultural land. With the difficulties of farming their own allotments, leasing became an easy way for the allottee to see some return on his or her land. In some cases the leases were paid through sharecropping, rather than in cash, with the allottee receiving a share of the crop from the lessee. Lessees often made extensive improvements of the land including building homes, fences, irrigation systems, and ancillary buildings for agricultural activity.

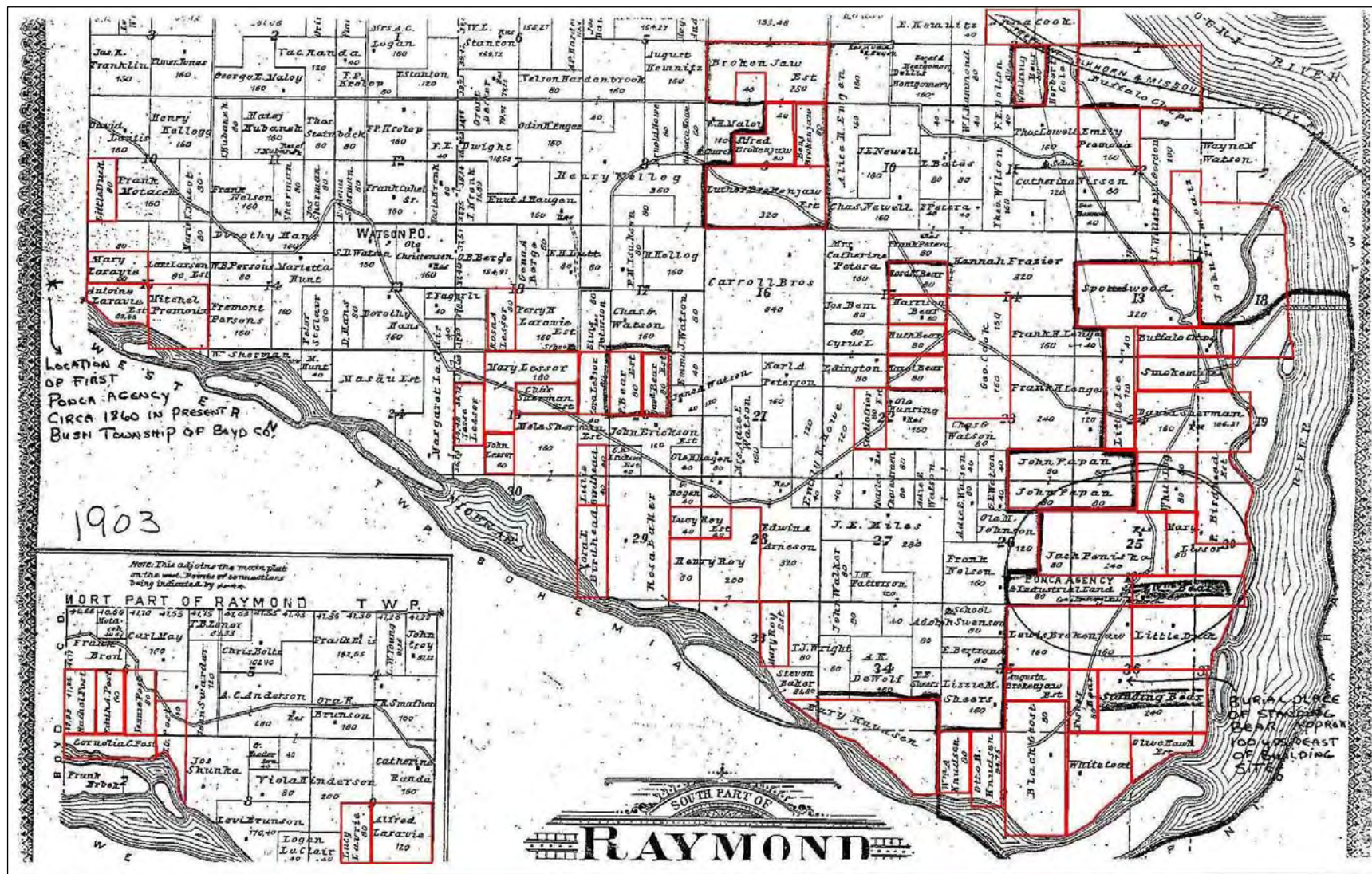
For example, Black Ghost, who owned an allotment on the north bank of the Niobrara River, leased his land to Joseph Tabela from 1923 until 1935. Tabela paid for his lease with a combination of a one-third share of the crops and an unspecified cash payment (Ponca Allotment Records: Roll 5 Allotment 54). Tabela made some improvements to the land including adding fencing to the property sometime during the tenure of his lease. This type of arrangement was common among the Northern Ponca, and resulted in the construction of a large number of agricultural buildings on allotted land. In many cases however (depending on the terms of the lease), the improvements were owned by the lessee, who would remove them at the termination of the lease (Taylor 2009).

## **Alienation and Land Loss**

Between inherited land sales, and land sales by “competent” Indians who had removed the land from trust, almost half of the land originally allotted to the Northern Ponca had been alienated by the end of the trust period in 1916. While it is clear that many Northern Ponca, particularly the children of the original allottees, desired to sell their allotments, others clearly sought to hold on to their lands, and feared that ending the trust period would result in the loss of their land. In 1916, several Northern Ponca petitioned the government to extend the period of trust on allotted lands. President Woodrow Wilson signed an executive order in 1916 extending the trust period for the Ponca by 10 years, until 1926. Fourteen allotments were excluded from this decision, presumably at the request of the allottees. Three of William Bear’s children, Lucy, Harrison, and Hazel, were included on the list, as were several children of the original allottees.

Even with the extension of the trust period, land continued to be taken out of trust and sold as it had in the past, and land continued to flow from Indian hands into the control of non-native farmers. Land speculators, such as the Niobrara merchant E.H. Lutt and his son E.M. Lutt, had spent years extending credit to allottees, which forced them to sell off portions of their land to cover their debts. John Papan, a Northern Ponca who had successfully farmed his 320-acre allotment for many years, eventually had to sell off portions of his land to pay off rising debts. Papan’s debts to E.M. Lutt resulted in having to sell 80 acres to him in 1927, and being forced to mortgage the remaining land to Lutt some time in the 1930s. Lutt foreclosed on Papan’s remaining 240 acres in 1934 (Froehling 1993).





**Figure 6. 1903 map of the Raymond Township, with Ponca Allotments outlined in red.**



Nebraska Historic Resources Intensive Survey of Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux  
Allotment Properties

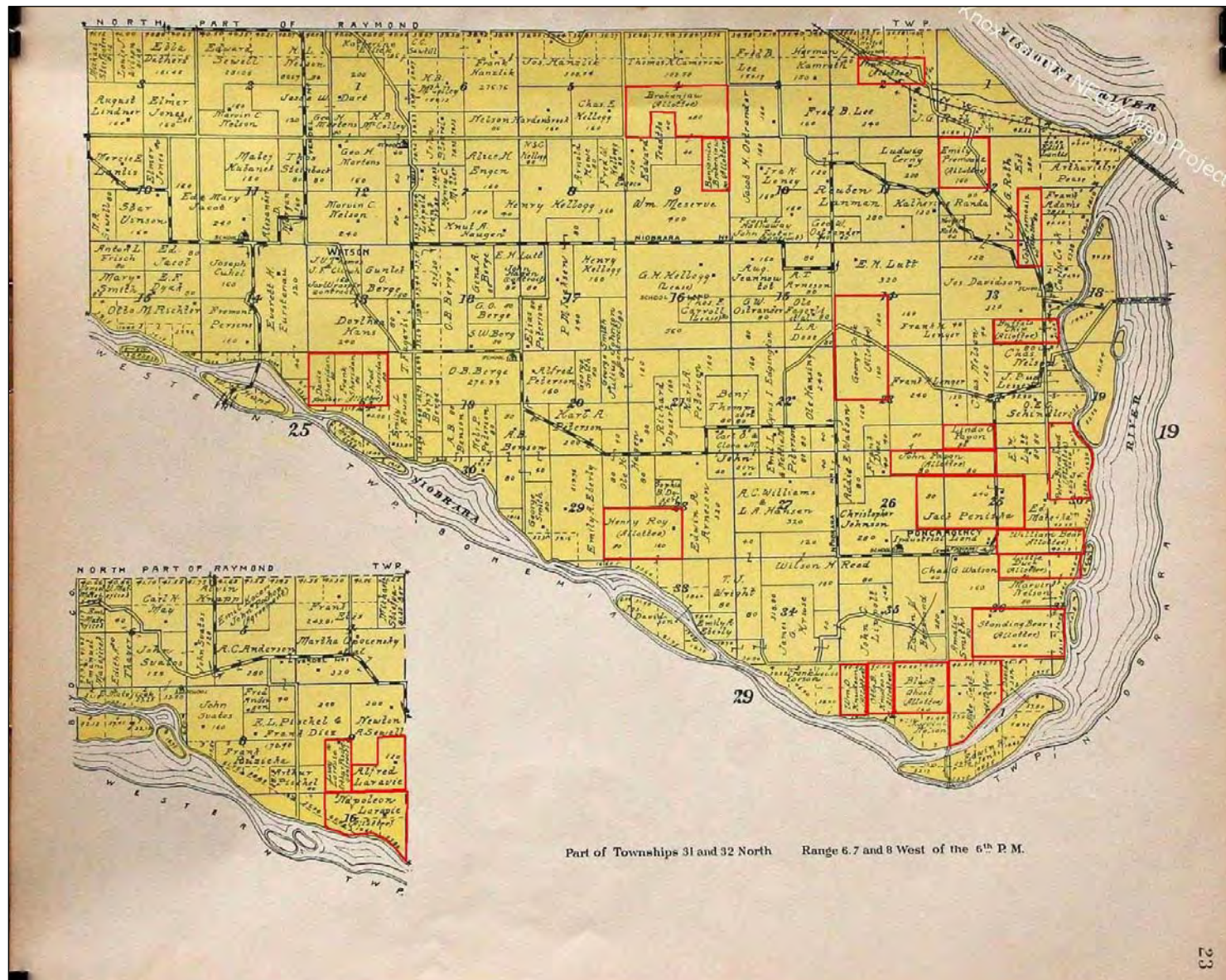


Figure 7. 1920 map of Raymond Township, with Ponca Allotments outlined in red.

Although many Northern Ponca sold their land in its entirety, moving away from the Niobrara Valley to find work elsewhere, many lost their land through attrition, selling their land off piecemeal to pay for accrued debts. Examination of the 1903 and 1920 plat maps for the Raymond Township shows a sharp reduction in the amount of land under Northern Ponca control (Figures 6 and 7). While many of the original allotments were still present, including William Bear, Standing Bear, Buffalo Chip, Black Ghost, Henry Roy, and Broken Jaw, the size of the allotments were all greatly reduced. By 1920, most of the original 160- and 320-acre allotments had been reduced to 80-acre parcels.

Not all of the original allotments were so quickly disposed of. Some Northern Ponca families retained portions of their land until the middle of the twentieth century. An example of this can be seen with the family of William Bear. In 1891, William Bear received his allotment for approximately 320 acres, in two non-contiguous parcels in Section 15, and in Sections 22 and 30 of Township 32 North, Range 7 West. His house was on the land in Section 30 located just east of the Ponca Agency, and across the road from the Episcopal church. At the same time William Bear received his 320-acre allotment, his children also received 80-acre allotments, which, considering their ages, would have been under his control. His daughters Rosa (age 5), Ruth (age 3), and Hazel (age 1), and his son Harrison (age 2) acquired 80-acre allotments in Sections 15 and 22 neighboring their father's land.

William Bear was employed as a blacksmith, working through the Indian agency, but may have tried to farm some of his allotted land, at least for personal use. He filed for a fee patent in 1906, under the Burke Act, as did his daughter Ruth Bear in 1911 (Allotment 99, Roll 6) (Figure 8). The remaining three children who received allotments, Rosa, Hazel, and Harrison, all filed for their patents in 1916 when the trust period expired, having been excluded from the 10-year extension of the trust. Hazel Bear, who had been leasing her 80 acres to Benjamin Thompson, a neighboring farmer, sold her land to Ole Hansing in 1920 (Allotment 99, Roll 6). Ruth and Harrison had similarly sold their allotments and left the area by 1920.





**Figure 8. Ruth Bear, daughter of William Bear (date unknown) (photograph courtesy of the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska and the Ponca Museum).**

William Bear passed away in 1912, and the land (already out of trust) was inherited in its entirety by his wife Mary. By 1922, Mary was leasing 157 acres of their land in Sections 25 and 30 to Hans Schroeder, a farmer living in Niobrara. Schroeder lived on the property and farmed there until at least 1934. Schroeder's lease was paid for with a combination of rent and sharecropping. Schroeder made numerous improvements to the land over the years including installing fencing, a house, a wooden granary, a steel granary, a barn, and cattle shed. When Mary Bear passed away, management of the family land fell to the children, who continued to lease the land. None of William's children lived on their lands in Knox County, but are listed as absentee owners in the allotment records (Allotment 99, Roll 6).

Schroeder struggled with farming the leased land, and in 1933 was described as "perpetually delinquent" in his rent payments (Allotment 99, Rolls 390–392). In 1935, he owed Lena Bear-Browning, one of William's youngest daughters, \$380 in back rent. By 1938, the land was instead leased to F.D. Jones, who continued to lease the property through the 1940s, making additional improvements to the property. William's eldest daughter Rosa continued to manage their property as an absentee owner, until her death in 1958.

The allotment of William Bear and his family provides an example of the course that many of the allotments took, with first generation occupants, followed by a second generation of absentee owners, leasing or selling available lands, while living and working elsewhere. The heirs of William Bear continued to maintain control of part of their father's original allotment land until 1958. Interestingly, it was the Burke Act that helped make it possible for the heirs of William Bear to maintain ownership of the property. The Burke Act allowed William Bear to obtain the legal patent to his land in 1906, 10 years before the expiration of the 25-year

trust period. Since the land was privately owned, and no longer an allotment, the property passed into the hands of his family (in this case his wife Mary), in its entirety.

At the time of his death in 1912, four years before the 25-year trust period was set to expire, William had 13 heirs (his wife Mary and 12 children). If William Bear's land had still been in trust at the time of his death, his 320-acre parcel would have been divided evenly amongst his heirs, giving each person less than 25 acres. This detail of the land policy regarding allotment encouraged the sale of inherited lands. It was the acquisition of the fee patent under the Burke Act that allowed the land to remain under the control of the William Bear family until the late 1950s.

### **The End of Allotment: Reorganization and Termination of the Northern Ponca**

The Act of April 30, 1934 (48 Stat. 647), better known as the IRA, put an end to the policy of allotment in severalty (Parman 1994). The IRA extended the trust period indefinitely, and provided for all public lands within former reservation boundaries to be transferred to the tribes as community property. The act was specifically designed to undo, or at least alleviate, the damage caused by allotment in severalty. The impacts to the Northern Ponca land base, however, were tremendous, and the IRA did not solve the problems facing the Northern Ponca.

In the 1930s, a combination of land loss and economic depression nationwide had driven many of the Northern Ponca away from their allotted lands. With no well established farms to inherit, no land available for purchase, little opportunity for work, and the leasing of land a questionable prospect given the economic conditions in the country, most Northern Ponca left Nebraska in search of work. The 1930s saw a spike in the sale of allotments as many Northern Ponca were forced to leave their property to try their luck with family or friends in other states. Some, like Rosa Bear, continued to lease their family allotments, but did so from out of state (Allotment 96, Roll 6). Others needed to sell their land to get the capital they needed to relocate (Froehling 1993).

Under the IRA, the Northern Ponca reorganized themselves as the Ponca Tribe of Native Americans in Nebraska in 1936. That same year, the Ponca built a community building on part of a 160-acre Ponca Agency allotment west of William Bear's allotment. The community building was constructed using the funds and services of the Indian Emergency Conservation Work program (IECW). Established in 1933, the IECW established public work programs for Native Americans using Native American labor. The Ponca Self Help Community Building and a caretaker's cottage (NeHBS # KX00-171) were constructed in 1936, and have served various functions for the Northern Ponca since that time. The Community Building and the Cottage (Figure 9), along with several ancillary structures, still stand in their original locations and have recently been renovated (Stupka-Burda 2002).



**Figure 9. Ponca Tribal Self-Help Community Building (KX00-171), facing southwest.**

The Northern Ponca were terminated as a tribe in 1962 under House Joint Resolution 108. At that time, only 10 or 11 of the original 165 allotments remained (Taylor 2009). Although many Northern Ponca continued to live in the area, no one was living on any of the original allotted lands. A total of 834 acres of tribal lands that had been in the form of allotments, and land acquired under the IRA, was sold (Grobsmith and Ritter 1992). Although the Northern Ponca fought against termination, the slow erosion of the land base during the allotment period and the outmigration of the many children and grandchildren of the original allottees had hurt the Northern Ponca's case against termination. Nevertheless, the Northern Ponca who remained in the area immediately began to fight for their recognition (Taylor 2009). Over the next 25 years, the Northern Ponca would suffer the effects of termination, with the loss of programs that not only provided for the tribe's welfare, but kept them together as a community (Grobsmith and Ritter 1992). Termination stood until 1988 when the U.S. Congress officially repealed Resolution 108, and restored the Federal Recognition of the Northern Ponca.

#### **SANTEE SIOUX DURING THE ALLOTMENT PERIOD (1889–1934)**

In 1866, the Santee were living on their reservation land in Knox County, east of Niobrara. Although the conditions in Nebraska were far better than what they had endured at Crow Creek, the first decade of settlement in Nebraska saw a drastic reduction in the Santee population. According to an 1878 report by the Santee Agency, 1,350 Santee arrived in Nebraska in 1866, but by 1878, that number had diminished drastically to around 800 persons. Some of the population loss was a result of a small pox epidemic that ravaged the tribe in 1873. Others simply left the area, returning to Minnesota, or forming new communities, such as the Flandreau Sioux. The Santee who remained worked at developing agriculture on their lands, with approximately 1,000 acres under cultivation (U.S. Office of Indian Affairs 1878).

In general, the agency's report of 1878 was positive, and indicated that although the population on the reservation had declined, the Santee were actively increasing the amount of land under cultivation, and were generally improving the land. A report by the Secretary of the Interior indicated that the amount of cultivated land continued to grow, with 1,605 acres under cultivation in 1882. The majority crop in 1882 was wheat, although flax, oats, and potatoes were also grown (U.S. House of Representatives 1882). In addition to agriculture, the reservation also produced quicklime, bricks, and harnesses. Most of these operations were managed by the Indian agency, with Santee apprenticing under Euro-American craftsmen, but other industries were operated solely by the Santee including a mill and a blacksmith shop. The 1882 report was published just prior to the enactment of allotment in severalty in 1889, and was hopeful that allotment would further benefit the Santee.

By 1877, the Santee had six mission schools and one government school located on their reservation. The Episcopal mission school ran four day schools operated by the Reverend William W. Fowler. One of the schools was a women's industrial school which taught mostly housework skills; the other three were common day schools. Rev. Fowler's schools listed only 36 students in 1877 (U.S. Office of Indian Affairs 1878).

The American Board of Foreign Missions (ABFM) ran three schools on the Santee Reservation. The Santee Normal Training School run by the ABFM was led by the Reverend Alfred L. Riggs. The Santee Normal School had separate facilities for girls and boys, and in 1877 had around 69 students. The third ABFM school was a small day school also overseen by Rev. Riggs. The government also operated one industrial boarding school on the Santee Reservation. The industrial school taught both male and female students, and included an agricultural field where boys were taught how to farm (U.S. Office of Indian Affairs 1878). The schools on the Santee Reservation were attended not only by the Santee Sioux, but also by the Northern Ponca and other Indian children living in the area (Taylor 2009). In general student attendance among the Santee was sporadic, and in many cases, students would spend their years split between the different schools on the reservation, and at schools in Yankton, South Dakota (Campbell 2009).

Santee Sioux allotment records have not been examined for the Santee Sioux, but since the 25-year trust period expired in 1920, most of the allotments were likely filed around 1895. A large portion of the allotments, similar to the Northern Ponca, were located along sources of water, primarily in the north of the Santee Township along the south bank of the Missouri River, while others were located along the creeks that feed the Missouri, including Hobu Creek and Hog Creek.

A report by the Santee Agent in 1897 found that the population of the Santee in Nebraska had increased since 1878, although not dramatically, to approximately 989 individuals, and was roughly split between adult males ( $n = 284$ ), adult females ( $n = 299$ ), and children between the ages of 6 and 16 ( $n = 253$ ) (U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs 1897).

The same 1897 study found that agriculture on the Santee allotments had declined after allotment. Joseph Clemens, the Indian agent reporting on the Santee in 1897, indicated that the decline in cultivation was due in part to dry weather, and in part to the large cash payments made to the Santee as part of their annuity (U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs 1897).

Similar impacts to agricultural productivity were likely the result of allotment itself. Unlike the Northern Ponca, the majority of the Santee acquired contiguous allotments. Communally owned lands, prior to allotment, allowed the Santee as a whole to select the best and most arable land for cultivation. Allotment resulted in smaller individually cultivated lands which were in general less productive. Worse still was the condition of grazing land. The earliest government reports on the reservation indicated that the land was far better suited for grazing than for farming (U.S. Office of Indian Affairs 1878), and by 1882, the Santee owned a large herd that ranged across their reservation. The Santee continued to maintain that herd, in part funded by annuity money provided during allotment (U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs 1897). With the division of the once large community land into individual allotments, the once large range was broken into non-contiguous allotments making grazing large herds more difficult.

Similar to the Northern Ponca, by 1920, many of the original allotments had been reduced in size to 80 acres. Much of this land had been sold before the end of the trust period, through the sale of inherited lands, and early acquisition of fee patents by “competent” Santee. In 1916, a group of 14 Santee petitioned to have the trust period extended by 10 years, which was granted by Woodrow Wilson, extending the trust period until 1930. The 14 Santee who petitioned for the extension were Eli Abraham, James Brant, Bushman Chapman, Starr Frazier, Alfred Goodthunder, Charles Hedges, Charles Henry, Stephen John, John Jones, Samuel Jones, Samuel Lucas, Clinton Philbrick, Solomon Ross, and Joseph Rouillard (Kappler 1929). A similar resolution was signed by Herbert Hoover in 1930 which extended the trust period for another 10 years (Kappler 1941). Of the original 14 names on the petition, only nine remained, and five were listed as deceased.

Alienation of Santee land followed a similar course as the Northern Ponca. With limited success of individual farms and ranches, many of the Santee leased their lands to Euro-American farmers, who, through cash entries and homestead patents, had acquired larger land bases. Rents paid under leased contracts were not paid to the Santee, but to the Indian agents, who would pay out sums as needed. This put control of Santee income entirely (for better or for worse) in the hands of the Indian agency (Meyer 1993). Inherited lands divided between the heirs of the original allottee rarely provided much in the way of income, encouraging many Santee children to sell their inherited allotments and move elsewhere in search of employment (Campbell 2009). This emigration was hastened by the introduction of the automobile. With little work available in the area, many of the heirs who inherited land found it more economical to sell the allotted land to neighboring ranchers, purchase a vehicle, and move elsewhere for employment (Campbell 2009).

Additional land was lost due to debt incurred to local merchants. Although annuities and rents provided some income for the Santee, debts for provisions, farming equipment, seed, and in some cases funeral expenses pushed many Santee into debt to local merchants. Extensive debt would sometimes result in land being forced out of trust early so that the land could be sold. In some cases, debts as small as a rented horse or a bag of groceries resulted in the loss of portions of an allotment (Campbell 2009). Although the amount of Santee controlled land declined as the years progressed, at least 158 allotments were still listed on the 1920 township maps. Most of the allotments around the town of Santee had been sold, with the majority of the remaining Santee allotments south of the town, in Hill and Harrison Townships.

In 1907, the last of the annuities from the original allotment act of 1889 was distributed among the Santee, Northern Ponca, and Flandreau Sioux. Ten years later, in 1917, the Indian agency in Santee was closed, and the Santee were placed under the authority of various agencies throughout the region including at times agencies in Yankton and Wagner, South Dakota, and the Winnebago Agency in Nebraska (Campbell 2009; Meyer 1993). With the closing of the Indian agency in Santee, and the continued erosion of the Santee land base, conditions for the Santee in Knox County grew steadily worse. Few of the responsible Indian agents visited the Santee, and for many years conditions among the Santee went unreported. In 1926, Edgar Howard, a United States Representative from Nebraska, visited the Santee and described the conditions there as “deplorable beyond words” (Meyer 1993). Conditions at Santee continued to decline, even after the passing of the IRA in 1934.

### **The End of Allotment: Reorganization and Emigration, and Return**

Allotment policy officially ended with the passing of the IRA in 1934. One of the provisions of the IRA was that each tribe had to willingly participate (Deloria, Jr. 2002). The Santee voted on, and approved reorganization in 1934. While the terms of the IRA were certainly favorable for the Santee, the region as a whole was still recovering from the depression, and the continued problems resulting from land loss and emigration made recovery among the Santee slow and difficult. The Santee Normal School, which continued to operate after many other services had left the area, closed in 1936, and the buildings were removed for lumber (Meyer 1993). Superintendent Gabe Parker of the Winnebago Agency reported in 1940 that the Santee were almost completely dependent on government aid (Meyer 1993).

During World War II, wartime production and the loss of labor to the war effort increased demand for workers. While this benefited the Santee economically, many of these jobs were far from their lands in Knox County, resulting in massive migrations from the Santee lands. Between 1940 and 1960, 65 percent of the Santee population left Knox County (Meyer 1993). The Santee continued to maintain a presence in Knox County, and thanks to this small but active community, the Santee were never terminated under the United States termination policy in the 1950s and 1960s. Some steps were made towards termination early on, but opposition by the Santee who remained in the area, and support from the surrounding community, put a quick stop to the termination discussion.

### **AMERICAN SETTLEMENT IN NEBRASKA DURING THE ALLOTMENT PERIOD (1889–1934)**

Once allotments had been selected by the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux, the remaining land was opened to homestead settlement. The earliest homestead patents filed on the former Santee Reservation were patented in the first decade of the twentieth century, with the bulk of the patents filed between 1907 and 1910 (Bureau of Land Management 2009). Given a five-year “proving up” period, this would suggest that the earliest homesteads were settled around 1902.

Between 1900 and 1910, the population of Nebraska as a whole increased only slightly (11.8 percent), and the number of farms saw a similar small increase (6.7 percent). In 1910, the population of Knox and Boyd counties combined was 27,184, although census records are unclear if this included the Santee or Northern Ponca populations. Despite fluctuations in

economic conditions during the early twentieth century, the population of Knox and Boyd counties remained relatively stable. The populations of individual townships, however, fluctuated wildly suggesting a high turnover of settlers in the area (U.S. Agricultural Census 1902, 1913, 1932).

The number of farms did not dramatically change between 1900 and 1930, but the values of those farms, as well as the value of improvements, more than doubled between 1900 and 1910 (U.S. Agricultural Census 1913). Land value increased due to both demand, as settlers flooded the west, and dwindling supply, as settlers occupied every piece of arable land in the state. The value of land continued to climb through the 1920s, but its dramatic rise was followed by an equally dramatic fall as the country fell into the Great Depression. Across the Great Plains, dry conditions, a failing market, and economic turmoil across the country brought an end to many farms in the area. Families with no means to provide for themselves were forced to abandon their lands in search of work elsewhere (Nelson 1996). Although northern Nebraska was spared some of the harsh environmental effects of the Dustbowl, the economic collapse brought an end to many farms in Knox and Boyd counties.

Agriculture was slow to return to northern Nebraska, and when it did, it had changed from agriculture of the early twentieth century. An increase in available technology and the extension of electricity to rural areas reduced the required labor force for farms, and increased the amount that could be cultivated within a season. This led to the rise of large agro-companies, and a decrease in the viability of the family farm, a trend that would continue throughout the twentieth century.

## **METHODS**

To meet the goals of the Ponca and Santee Sioux allotment period survey and inventory project, SWCA gathered information from a variety of available sources. The following section addresses the specific methods used by SWCA in the completion of this project. In addition, potential biases of each research method are identified. Bias is inherent in all research, and while it cannot be completely eliminated through research design, the explicit acknowledgement of biases associated with specific research methods, and attempts to address these biases through the use of multiple lines of evidence, can help mitigate the limitations resulting from biases and place the research into an understandable context that will facilitate future use of that data.

### **ARCHIVAL RESEARCH**

Without a full understanding of the historical context in which architectural resources were built, occupied, and in some cases, abandoned, it is impossible to truly understand the significance of these resources. One important tool for understanding the allotment period and its impacts on both the American and Indian populations is the wealth of documentary evidence from that period recorded by local residents, government officials, religious leaders, and historians. Archival research can be invaluable in determining the location and disposition of the historic buildings. In addition, documents located through archival research often

provide vital background information necessary to place architectural resources within an understandable interpretive context.

The repositories consulted for this project were the NSHS Library and the NSHS Archives' K Street facility, both of which are located in Lincoln, Nebraska. The archival documents maintained by these two libraries include BIA allotment records for the Ponca Tribe dating from 1900 to 1966, survey plat maps for the Raymond and Niobrara Townships dating from the early twentieth century, BIA Indian Census records from 1890 to 1940 for the Santee Sioux Reservation, and historical photographs of allotment buildings located within the related Omaha Reservation dating from 1890 to 1910. Additional research materials are held at the Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogical Department, the Ponca Tribal Cultural and Museum Center located in Niobrara, Nebraska, and the National Archives and Records Administration in Denver, Colorado.

The historical research was collected in two phases: the preliminary and final research phases.

### **Preliminary Research**

Prior to initiation of this project the exact number of allotment houses remaining within the Ponca and Santee Sioux lands was unknown. The preliminary research phase was conducted prior to fieldwork with the aim of identifying the types of resources that would be encountered during the survey, locating architectural resources on Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux land, and developing a general historical background. The preliminary research task consisted of archival research, and a field visit with the Northern Ponca and the Santee Sioux to make contact with tribal representatives who would be able to provide historical information for the project. This information was used to 1) identify the locations of individual architectural properties; 2) develop a methodology for accurately identifying and recording the allotment buildings in the field; and 3) facilitate drafting the historical context.

Preliminary archival research included records located at the NSHS Library and at the State Archives, both located in Lincoln, Nebraska. Additional research materials are held at the Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogical Department, the Ponca Tribal Cultural and Museum Center located in Niobrara, Nebraska, the National Archives and Records Administration in Denver, Colorado, as well as county clerk records available in Boyd and Knox counties.

### **Final Research**

Following the completion of fieldwork, additional archival research was performed to acquire information specific to the allotment properties containing architectural resources that are included in the reconnaissance and intensive surveys. Where available, property-specific information was collected. Information sought included tax and probate records filed with the assessor's and clerk and recorder offices in Boyd and Knox counties, census records available through the Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogical Department, and any family-specific records available at the Ponca Tribal Cultural and Museum Center or held by the Santee Sioux. This information was used in concert with property- and family-specific oral histories gathered in the field.



## **ORAL HISTORIES**

The perspectives of the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux, which were intended to constitute half of the overall historical context, were derived from a number of oral interviews conducted with tribal members and historians, and from any primary documentation written by Ponca or Santee individuals. Information gathered from these interviews was condensed for relevance with the present project; however, every attempt was made to preserve not only the content of the information but where possible the exact language of the oral history. Since this is a targeted research study focusing specifically on the allotment period, any information not relating to the understanding of the overall history, the identification of the historic allotment period buildings, or information specifically requested to be excluded by tribal members was omitted from the final report. Primary sources that were validated as having originated from the Ponca or Santee Sioux were also examined.

Following established oral history methodologies (Ives 1974), SWCA compiled a list of questions relevant to satisfying the project goals, for the purposes of guiding the interview. The interviews themselves, however, followed a more organic approach allowing the subjects to respond freely and diverge from the questions, and were only to be guided back to the subject should the conversation deviate considerably from the project topics.

In addition, tribal contacts selected by the tribal councils were asked to provide additional contextual information for this project. Stanford “Sandy” Taylor of the Northern Ponca and Clarence Campbell of the Santee Sioux were asked to provide information on the histories of the two tribes, and to act as contacts for additional tribal interviews. These tribal contacts provided historical information they had collected independently, and also provided a list of potential informants for additional interviews.

Prior to conducting interviews, subjects were asked to sign a document granting permission to use the material as part of the current project. The use of recording devices was not approved by any of the informants; therefore, notes were recorded by hand during all interviews. Recognizing the sensitivity of oral history information, transcriptions for each interview were provided to the informants to give them the opportunity to omit any information they did not want included in the final report.

After the interviews were conducted, the resulting data were compiled and consolidated into the included historical context. Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux histories were examined separately from archival information such as government documentation to try to provide distinct Ponca and Santee Sioux perspectives on the allotment period. Prior to the approval of the final report, oral histories and the historic context were sent to the tribal council for the Northern Ponca and the Santee Sioux, to give them the opportunity to comment on the contents of the oral history section, and to omit any information considered sensitive or potentially harmful to the tribe.

## **FIELDWORK**

Although the identification of the allotment boundaries and the families that owned specific allotments was completed through archival research, the identification of extant architectural resources associated with the allotment period was conducted through a field reconnaissance

of the former allotment properties. The primary objective of the fieldwork phase was to physically identify any architectural resources associated with the allotment period, and to complete detailed recordings of the current architectural characteristics of these buildings, and evaluate their significance by applying the NRHP eligibility criteria.

The methodology used to complete this task was a “selective – intensive” model, completed in the following manner. A preliminary field visit was conducted at the same time that the preliminary archival and oral history information was collected. The purpose of the preliminary field visit was to identify which buildings may still be standing on the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux lands that may be associated with the allotment period (1887–1934), and which would therefore warrant intensive survey. Once located, all allotment period buildings were recorded in sufficient detail to permit accurate assessment of changes made to each building over time and to illuminate its relationship to the historic and geographic context. The architectural data collected during intensive survey of each building included, but was not limited to, information about location, original design, materials, size, construction methods, architectural character, and any visible additions or other alterations to the original design. This recording procedure was completed for every building identified with this period, including primary and ancillary buildings. To satisfy this, four types of data were collected: a narrative description of the building(s), digital photographs, site sketch maps, and Global Positioning System (GPS) locations in accordance with standards outlined in the *Nebraska Historic Buildings Survey (NeHBS) Manual*, as updated January 15, 2009.

All field data were then reviewed, corrected, and finally transferred to an electronic NeHBS form for submittal, with each *site* (defined by the National Park Service as a primary residence with clearly associated ancillary buildings and structures) recorded as an individual resource.

Properties were documented in the field and evaluated for potential eligibility for inclusion in the NRHP by applying the NRHP Criteria for Evaluation, as set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.4:

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:

- A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- D. That have yielded or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Buildings are unique in the catalogue of cultural resources, in that they provide a physical conduit through which people and cultures can interact with the past. Buildings are also dynamic resources that are subject to alteration, relocation, and demolition. These changes can impact a building's ability to relate historical and cultural information, but the changes to a building over time are also a part of the history of the building and its occupants.

## **PROJECT BIASES**

While seemingly objective, historical and architectural research is almost always subject to biases both inherent in the data sources, and as a product of research methodologies. While it is virtually impossible to remove bias from the research, the identification of project-specific biases allows for some mitigation of their impacts upon the quality and accuracy of the data as analyzed and presented. The research design drafted by SWCA prior to initiating research on this project (Appendix A) identified several sources of bias which had the potential to impact the results of archival research and the collection of field data. The purpose of identifying these biases during the research design was to help guide the project methodology to minimize their impacts and ensure the quality of the project results. The following section re-addresses these biases within the context of the completed research, and identifies the data gaps that resulted from these biases.

### **Archival Research**

Archival and documentary research are subject to bias at several levels, ranging from the production of the original documentation, the availability of and access to those documents by researchers, and interpretations of the material itself. Some of these biases were anticipated, such as the potential need to rely heavily on government documentation, which 1) often was not intended to record the types of information sought by researchers, and 2) often was skewed heavily towards the perspective of government agents. One example of this type of bias appears in information recorded by the Bureau of the Census. Two types of census records were examined during this project: the General Census and the Indian Census.

The General Census provided valuable details about households and individuals including occupations, birth years, and household size. Unfortunately, these records were only recorded every ten years, which leaves large gaps in the historical record, particularly for the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux communities, both of which experienced demographic change on a yearly basis. The Indian Census was taken every year, but unlike the General Census, provided far less information, and did little more than record the names of individuals within a community. Interpretation of both of these types of records was further hindered by the quality of information, which was dependent entirely on the person recording the census data. Overall, while the two types of census records provided valuable contextual information, the census information only provided one part of the larger historical background for this project.

Probably the most limiting bias impacting archival research was the lack of quality county assessor or land title records for the allotment properties. Because allotments were not subject to tax assessment until fee patents were issued, and because these properties were managed by the BIA and not through the county governments, detailed land title and property tax assessment records do not exist for many of the allotment buildings. Some of this information was recorded in allotment records held by the BIA. Where available, these allotment records

provided details on issuance of fee patents for allotted lands at the termination of the trust, as well as transactions between allotment holders, and renters or lessees of allotment properties. Allotment records for the Northern Ponca provided a wealth of information regarding specific allotment holders, the division of those allotments resulting from land sales or inheritance, and improvements made to rented lands. Unfortunately, while these records were available for the Northern Ponca allotments, the allotment records for the Santee Sioux were not accessible for this project. It is understood by the Santee Sioux that the records still exist somewhere, but the records were not available for review during the present project. As a result, many of the details regarding the land transfers, rentals, and the patent dates for the former Santee Sioux allotments simply were not available.

### **Architectural Survey**

Fieldwork, and specifically architectural survey, presented a somewhat different set of biases that needed to be considered. First and foremost, former allotment properties that are now privately owned were only accessible from roadway rights-of-way (ROWs). Due to the dense vegetation, and deep setbacks on some of these properties, it is possible that not all of the extant allotment buildings were identified. Furthermore, the recording of an historic property is a static description made of a dynamic resource. Owners frequently change the appearance of their homes, and in some cases, later alterations can obscure the original design. To varying degrees, several of the identified allotment properties had been altered from their original designs and several buildings had also been moved from their original locations. Changes to the location, setting, design, workmanship, and materials impacted the historic architectural integrity of the allotment buildings, and challenged the ability for architectural field documentation to accurately record the original disposition of these resources.

### **Oral Histories**

Oral histories provided a wealth of property-specific historical information, along with general contextual information about the lives of the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux during the twentieth century. Oral histories collected from Northern Ponca, Santee Sioux, and other local residents filled in many of the gaps in the documentary record. Unfortunately, oral histories are limited to the memories and experiences of the living individuals interviewed. While this project was fortunate in having access to individuals who experienced a long history within the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux communities, memories from the latter parts of the century were remembered more clearly than older experiences. While local informants were able to provide some limited information about the earliest years of the allotment period, most were able to provide more detailed information regarding the second generation of families living in allotment houses.

Although it is impossible to remove all of the biases from historical and architectural research, the use of multiple lines of independent evidence helped to alleviate some of the biases in individual data sources. In many cases it is through the comparison of different lines of evidence (i.e., archival research, oral histories, and architectural survey data) and the examination of similarities and differences between data that more detailed and multi-perspective histories can be uncovered (Wylie 2002). This is particularly relevant for histories of groups that are often overlooked or obscured through traditional histories (Galloway 2006). The combination of documentary research from several independent sources, oral interviews

from individuals within a community, and the field documentation of the architectural remains from the allotment period provided a detailed (although by no means complete) view of the allotment period and the extant remains of Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux allotment architecture.

## **SURVEY RESULTS**

Archival research, oral interviews with local Ponca and Santee Sioux informants, and a driving reconnaissance of former Ponca and Santee Sioux allotment properties resulted in the identification of 11 standing buildings associated with the allotment period. Two of these buildings (KX00-384 and KX08-042) were former Northern Ponca allotment buildings. The remaining nine buildings (KX00-214, KX00-379, KX00-372, KX00-373, KX00-374, KX00-380, KX00-381, KX00-382, and KX00-383) were former Santee Sioux allotment buildings. According to local Ponca and Santee Sioux residents, many of the older allotment houses have either collapsed, burned down, or have been intentionally dismantled. The condition of these buildings varies, but many are no longer occupied and maintained, resulting in their deteriorated condition. The following section briefly outlines the history of home construction on the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux allotments, provides a brief overview of the architectural styles observed during the survey, and presents the results of the architectural survey of Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux allotment architecture. Field survey of these 11 allotment properties was conducted by SWCA historians Thomas Witt, M.A., and Sean Doyle, B.A., between October 22 and 24, 2009.

## **HISTORY OF ALLOTMENT ARCHITECTURE**

Indian housing was a poorly defined component of United States Allotment policy. While most of the acts responsible for establishing allotments made some reference to assistance with construction of houses and ancillary buildings, the implementation of these policies varied widely. Some agencies provided construction supplies only, making the allottee responsible for the construction of the home, while others provided contractors for the construction of homes and ancillary buildings (Davis 2002). Early homes built by the government were described as substandard, and many allottees used them for storage, while continuing to live in traditional shelters (Davis 2002).

Under the various allotment acts, the Northern Ponca and the Santee Sioux were provided funds for the construction of a house and necessary outbuildings on their allotted lands (Kappler 1904). The U.S. Government provided funding for the construction of these buildings, but did not build them on behalf of the Ponca or the Santee. The task of building the home, and any associated ancillary buildings, was left to the individual allottee. Local carpenters were available both in the neighboring town of Niobrara and at the Santee Agency.

In 1895, two Indian contractors were listed at the Santee Agency: Thomas O. Knudson, a Ponca, and Oliver La Croix, a Santee Sioux (U.S. Department of the Interior 1897).

Thomas O. Knudson was the son of Otto E.C. Knudson, a Danish immigrant who helped settle the original Niobrara settlement. Otto E. Knudson was also responsible for the original survey of the Ponca allotments (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900a; Taylor 2009). In 1863,

Otto married a Ponca woman named Mary, and the two raised a family on land in the former Ponca Reservation. The two had several children, including a son, Thomas Knudson, born in 1867. Thomas grew up on the former Ponca Reservation, and he was listed as being a carpenter both in the census and in the records of the Santee Agency, from at least 1895 through 1900 (U.S. Department of the Interior 1897; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900b). Exactly where Thomas Knudson learned his craft is unclear. He may have been self-taught, apprenticed under one of the contractors in Niobrara, or he may have learned his craft at the Santee Normal School. There are no records of any homes specifically built by Thomas Knudson during his career, but in his role at the Santee Agency, he was likely involved in some of the home and outbuilding construction on the Ponca and Santee allotments.

Oliver La Croix was born in Minnesota, and probably moved to Nebraska along with the rest of the Santee in the 1860s. There is little record of his family, or of where he may have learned his craft. Like Knudson, he may have been self-taught, learned carpentry from one of the local carpenters in Niobrara, or received training from the Santee Normal School. According to stories related by his family, Oliver La Croix built many of the original houses on the Santee allotments (Wilson 2006).

In 1882, it was reported that the Santee Agent had opened bids for construction material to build housing for the Santee Sioux. The report indicated that:

...the agent was engaged in opening bids for contracts that had been advertised for lumber, hardware, and material sufficient to build fifty frame dwellings, and paint them for the Indians on the Santee Reservation...when the fifty dwellings are erected nearly all of those who have commenced farming will have comfortable homes. (Association of Friends 1882)

Archived records of the BIA make no specific mention of a housing program for the construction of allotment houses, making it unclear if the standing allotment houses on the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux lands were built by government contractors, by individual home owners, or by one of the two Indian contractors working for the Santee Agency.

In 1921, the U.S. Federal Government passed the Snyder Act, which authorized the Office of Indian Affairs to expand the services offered to Indian tribes. One of the stated goals of these expansions was to improve housing conditions amongst the tribes, and to provide specifications for building construction. This resulted in the publication of a booklet providing floor plans for residential farms of various sizes, as well as for associated ancillary buildings (Davis 2002; Godfrey 2000). The booklet, published in 1926, outlined design specifications for use by both contractors and individuals building their own homes.

A second edition of the design plans was released in 1930, which provided a wider variety of designs, based on family size and economic level. The 1930 plans also included designs for wood framed, adobe, and brick structures, and expanded on the specifications for ancillary buildings and structures (Godfrey 2000). Although plans were made available, the funding necessary to build homes on most tribal lands was limited. Established Indian tribes were legally allowed to apply for housing loans under the United States Housing Act of 1937, but were rarely successful. However, funds for Indian housing projects were made available. The

BIA acquired funds from the Resettlement Administration to help build and repair houses and ancillary buildings for recognized Indian groups. This funding was administered by the Indian Relief and Rehabilitation Division, formed in 1936. The program ended in 1941, and did not result in any noticeable improvements to living conditions (Davis 2002; Godfrey 2000).

The revised design guide released by the government in 1930 included a variety of floor plans, most of which had similar design characteristics. Plan Numbers 1 through 3 each had rectangular plans with a symmetrical orientation of windows and doors, and facades with centrally placed front entrance and flanking windows. Each design featured a centrally located front porch and either one or two chimneys centered on the ridge of the roofline. The interiors of the buildings have a linear orientation of public space (living room, dining hall) towards the front of the building, and domestic space (kitchen, pantry) towards the rear of the dwelling (Godfrey 2000). None of the observed Northern Ponca or Santee Sioux allotment houses conform to the designs in the 1930 revised government design guide.

### **ARCHITECTURAL TYPES ON NORTHERN PONCA AND SANTEE SIOUX ALLOTMENTS**

Two standing examples of Northern Ponca allotment architecture and nine standing examples of Santee Sioux allotment architecture were observed during this project. None of the eleven buildings conform to the designs outlined in the 1930 revised design guide. However, most of the identified allotment buildings share similar design characteristics. While these similarities do not represent a specific “allotment type,” they may indicate similar periods of construction, economic contexts, and possibly similar contractors assisting with the construction of these buildings.

The following description of architectural design features uses terms and descriptions outlined in *A Field Guide to American Houses* by McAlester and McAlester (1984). Since the designs of these buildings follow simple vernacular styles, rather than high-style designs, Henry Glassie’s work on vernacular and folk architecture also influenced the following interpretation of architecture styles on the Ponca and Santee allotments (Glassie 2000).

Similar architectural designs can be seen in many of the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux allotment buildings. Overall, the dimensions of the original buildings vary widely suggesting that a single uniform design was not followed. However, while these buildings are not identical in design or construction, most share architectural characteristics that suggest a similar period of construction, economic context, and possibly similar contractors. Complicating the identification process, many of the former allotment properties observed during this project had been heavily altered some time after their initial construction. In most cases, however, the original portion of the building was still identifiable within the overall structure. Reviewing the architectural details of the allotment buildings, the following architectural characteristics were observed:

The architectural styles observed in Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux allotment houses share characteristics common to the National Folk tradition which was popular in the latter half of the nineteenth century (from ca. 1850 to 1890). The National Folk tradition is generally associated with the period of railroad expansion in the United States (McAlester and

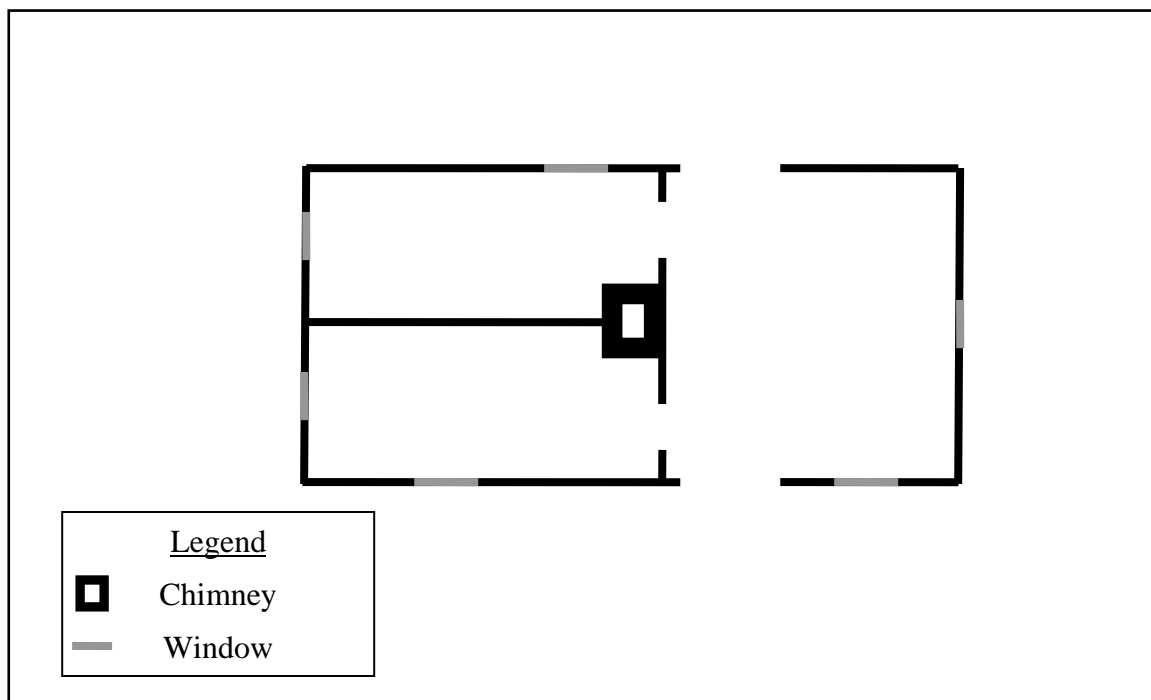
McAlester 1984). The term National Folk is commonly used to refer to a continuation of regionally specific folk architectural traditions that spread across the nation along with the expansion of the railroad around the turn of the century (McAlester and McAlester 1984). National Folk buildings are generally characterized by regional architectural styles found outside of their traditional areas, using non-local construction materials delivered via the railroad.

Overall, two similar styles of allotment period construction were observed: the simple two-bay, rectangular plan allotment house, and a compound L-shaped allotment house. These two styles were represented by 10 of the 11 buildings recorded during this project.

### **Two-bay Hall-and-Parlor Allotment House**

Six of the 11 allotment buildings identified during the course of this project are representative of hall-and-parlor construction, characterized by a rectangular plan and simple two-bay construction, an asymmetrical façade, a steeply pitched side-gabled roof, and a central brick masonry chimney. Hall-and-parlor domestic architecture is a traditional British form that was transplanted to America and became common in the South and the Midwest prior to the arrival of the railroad (McAlester and McAlester 1984) (Figure 10). As the name implies, hall-and-parlor houses are typically composed of two parts, a *hall*, accessed by the primary entrance, and a *parlor*, accessed from the hall. The hall was typically used as a public and utilitarian space and served as a dining area, kitchen, and for entertaining guests. The parlor was typically only accessible from within the house, and was used as a private chamber, commonly serving as a bedroom (Upton 1987). In eastern settlements, hall-and-parlor construction was subject to substantial regional variety, however, in each of these regions, simple two-bay, hall-and-parlor construction was common (Glassie 1968, 2000). Southern hall-and-parlor types tended to have single, gable end chimneys, or in larger examples, a chimney on each gable end. The northern states and the Mid-Atlantic types more commonly had central chimneys, which were used to heat both the hall and the parlor from the same source (Glassie 1968, 2000; Upton 1987).





**Figure 10. Typical layout of a hall-and-parlor type based on the Abraham/Frazier Allotment House (KX00-214).**

Historic photographs of former Ponca allotment houses indicate that this type of building was common not only among Santee allotment houses, but also for Northern Ponca allotments (Figure 11). The dimensions of these buildings varied as did the roof pitch and the number of windows on each elevation. Overall however, these shared characteristics were visible on the Star Frazier Allotment House (KX00-380), the Abraham/Frazier Allotment House (KX00-214) (Figure 12), the Zimmerman Allotment House (KX00-383), the Albert Frazier Allotment House (KX00-379) (Figure 13), the Crow Allotment House (KX00-373), and the Knudsen Allotment Building (KX00-384).



**Figure 11. Thomas Knudsen (Ponca) and his family standing in front of their allotment house, date unknown (photograph courtesy of the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska and the Ponca Museum).**



**Figure 12. Abraham/Frazier Allotment House (KX00-214).**



**Figure 13. Heavily modified Albert Frazier Allotment House (KX00-379).**

### **Compound Gable-and-Wing Allotment House**

Three of the 11 identified allotment buildings share characteristics common to this type of construction characterized by compound L-shaped plans, with cross gabled roofs, asymmetrical facades, and central brick masonry chimneys. Gable-and-wing architecture was common in the northeastern United States and the Midwest during the nineteenth century (McAlester and McAlester 1984). Both single- and two-story varieties of this type of construction were observed, including the two-story Rouillard Allotment House (Figure 14) and the single-story Wabasha Allotment House (Figure 15). Although no examples of this type were observed on former Ponca allotments, historical photographs indicate that these types of buildings were once present (Figure 16). The building dimensions, window placement, siding, and number of chimneys varied on each of the observed buildings of this type. Overall however, many of these shared characteristics were visible on the Rouillard Allotment House (KX00-381), the Wabasha Allotment House (KX00-374), and the Johnson/Henry Allotment House (KX00-372).





**Figure 14. Rouillard Allotment House (KX00-381).**



**Figure 15. Wabasha Allotment House (KX00-374).**



**Figure 16. Former Papan (Ponca) Allotment House, ca. 1950–1970 (photograph courtesy of the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska and the Ponca Museum).**

### **Additional Architectural Forms**

The two buildings that do not fall under either of these two house types are the William Bear Allotment House (KX08-042) and the Gabe/Antoine Rouillard Allotment House (KX00-382). The William Bear Allotment House has a two-story T-shaped plan, with an inset front porch and elaborate Late Victorian stylistic features. Modifications to this building make it difficult to determine what features of the present building may be the result of later alteration. The Gabe/Antoine Rouillard Allotment House is a single-story hipped-roof box with a square plan two bays wide and two bays deep and a pyramidal hipped roof. Buildings of this type were common vernacular forms from the early twentieth century, and frequently represented later replacements of smaller side gabled buildings (McAlester and McAlester 1984). These two buildings represent distinct deviations from the typical allotment period homes observed during this survey and may be the result of differences in period of construction or the resources available for the home builder.

Although the federal government provided some funding and materials for the construction of houses on Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux allotments, the observed variations in construction details suggest that construction was done on an individual basis, and not based on a standard set of designs. Similarities between the different buildings are likely representative of regional vernacular forms, and possibly a result of similar contractors building the homes. Historical records indicate that the carpenters at the Santee Agency, Thomas Knudsen and Oliver LaCroix, may have built many of the original allotment homes, which may be the reason for the architectural similarities observed.



## **SUMMARY OF ARCHITECTURAL RESOURCES**

### **KX00-384 Mary Knudsen Allotment Building**

#### **Site Setting**

The Mary Knudsen Allotment Building is an abandoned agricultural ancillary building located on a former Ponca allotment in Knox County (Figure 17). The property is situated on a level area atop a primary terrace of the Niobrara River floodplain and circumscribed on the northwest, north, and northeast aspects by a rolling upland defined by gentle knolls. The building stands within a clearing overgrown with tall prairie grasses extending to the base of a nearby rise is a dense, overgrown patch of corn and invasive forbs. Vegetation in the surrounding area consists of dense overgrown grasses in the clearing around the standing building with dense riparian woodland forest along the banks of the river. Since the property was surveyed from the ROW, only the northeast and northwest sides of the building were clearly visible.



**Figure 17. KX00-384, Mary Knudsen Allotment Building, facing southwest.**

#### **Architectural Description**

The Mary Knudson Allotment Building is a single-story example of an intact early twentieth century agricultural ancillary building constructed during the Ponca allotment period (1889–1934). The building does not represent a particular style, however, it exhibits design characteristics typical of allotment buildings constructed on the Ponca tribal lands and Santee Sioux Reservation during the early twentieth century. The building features a simple rectangular plan, and a low single-story massing with a steep side gabled roof. The four-corner footprint of the building measures approximately 15 feet (northwest to southeast) by 30 feet (northeast to southwest) in size, and is oriented parallel to and facing northeast. The walls

of the building are of wood framed construction clad on the exterior with narrow horizontal clapboard siding. The siding is missing on the southeast elevation, exposing rough hewn wood plank wall sheathing underneath.

No windows are visible in the walls of the building; however, there are three human scaled entries including one on the northeast elevation, and two on the northwest elevation. The entries on the northwest elevation have open jambs with boxed surrounds. Only one of the two entries still includes a door. The entry on the northeast elevation has been sealed with milled wood planks. The building is covered by a low-sloping side gabled roof clad with corrugated steel panels and dressed with a milled wood cornice and narrow, enclosed eaves.

Although a specific date of construction could not be determined, the building shares several architectural characteristics common to Ponca and Santee allotment period construction. Among these features are a simple, two-bay, rectangular plan; clapboard siding; and a steep, side gabled roof.

To the northwest of the building is a solitary grain silo. The silo is a large pre-fabricated cylindrical steel tower with a circular footprint approximately 25 feet in diameter. Approximately two stories tall, the silo features a steel frame sheathed with numerous curved individual steel panels. The exterior of the silo is adorned with a painted ghost sign reading "ROSS" just below the roof line. The silo has a low-sloping conical roof composed of wedge-shaped steel panels, joined by rigid standing seam construction.

### **Historical Background**

The history of KX00-384 could not be verified. According to local Ponca historian Stan Taylor, the building has been standing for a long time and may date back to the allotment period. This building is located on the original allotment of Stan Taylor's great-grandmother, Mary Knudsen (Allotment #20) (Figure 18). Mary Knudson (Mi-ga-Sanni) was born in 1843, the daughter of Two Bulls who was chief when the Lewis and Clark expedition passed through the area, and the half-sister of Smoke Maker (one of the Ponca chiefs who had returned with Standing Bear) (Taylor 2009). Mary Knudsen was one of the first of the Northern Ponca to receive her allotted land, a 331.75-acre allotment along the north bank of the Niobrara River. Mary received the patent to her allotted land prior to the expiration of the trust period (likely by proving competency), a short 17 years later in 1906 (Kappler 1913).



**Figure 18. Otto E. Knudsen and Mary Knudsen, child not identified (photograph courtesy of the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska and the Ponca Museum).**

Mary grew up on the Ponca Reservation in Nebraska, and in 1863 married Danish immigrant Otto E. Knudsen. Otto Knudsen was a surveyor, who was responsible for surveying the Northern Ponca allotments in 1889. Mary and Otto raised their six children in the Raymond Township, but it is not clear if they lived on Mary's allotted land or if her allotment was instead leased to Euro-American farmers. Two of Otto and Mary's children, William and Otto B. Knudsen, received 80-acre allotments on land neighboring their mother's along the northern bank of the Niobrara River.

Mary and Otto's eldest son, Thomas Knudsen, was a carpenter who trained at Santee, and later became an Indian agent. While working as a carpenter, Thomas Knudsen may have been responsible for the construction of many of the original allotment homes.

The 1903 map does not show any buildings standing on Mary Knudson's allotment, and it is possible that the family had moved elsewhere but used the land for their own agricultural purposes, or as leased farmland. In 1910, Mary was living with Lucy Primeaux (the daughter of Standing Bear) and her husband Mitchell Primeaux, in the western part of the township (Taylor 2009). The 1911 Indian Census is the last historical document to reference Mary Knudsen, and she may have passed away by that time. According to Mary Knudsen's great-



grandson, Stan Taylor, the property was sold before he was born. According to historical maps of the area, Mary's former allotment had been divided and sold by 1920. The portion of her allotment in Section 34 was sold to James Kruse, and the southern portion which contains the extant ancillary building was sold to Frank Corson.

The non-historic silo located on the property is not associated with the allotment period. A more modern residence, located southeast of the ancillary building, was built some time in the 1960s. In 1964, this new residence was occupied by George F. Braun, and most recently by Clifford Ruzicka. The historical function of the ancillary building is not readily apparent, but was likely used in conjunction with agricultural activities on the property.

### **NRHP Eligibility Recommendation**

Although the exact date of construction for this building could not be determined, according to local historian, informant, and great-grandson of Mary Knudsen, Stan Taylor, the building has been standing since the early twentieth century. The building may represent an agricultural outbuilding used by Mary and Otto Knudsen and her family during their control of the property near the turn of the century. However, specific details surrounding the construction or use of the building was not available. Mary Knudson was no longer living on her allotted land property by 1901, and her former allotment was sold to Euro-American farmers by 1920. Although this building likely dates to the early part of the century, it may not be associated with Mary Knudsen's allotment period occupation.

Although this building does not represent a clear example of residential construction during the allotment period, the building may be associated with important historical events, or be associated with person(s) who made a significant contribution to Northern Ponca history. Further investigation and consultation with the Northern Ponca regarding this resource is required before this building can be adequately assessed for NRHP eligibility under Criteria A or B.

The simple rectangular plan, with no windows but multiple entrances is representative of agricultural outbuildings dating to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Alterations made to the building since its original construction, including the sealing of a door opening on the northeast elevation and the replacement of the roof cladding, have not drastically altered the building's original design; however, this building does not appear to represent a specific type of allotment period construction. Although this building may be one of the older standing structures on a former Ponca allotment, it lacks a clear association to the allotment period (1889–1934). This study therefore recommends that the Mary Knudsen Allotment Building be considered not eligible for nomination to the NRHP under Criterion C.

This study did not assess the archaeological potential of these resources. As a result, SWCA recommends that the resource remain unevaluated for NRHP eligibility under Criterion D.

## **KX08-042 William Bear Allotment House**

### **Site Setting**

The William Bear Allotment House is an historic Ponca allotment period residence that has been moved from its original location west of the Niobrara River, to the town of Niobrara (Figure 19). The current property contains the former allotment house along with two ancillary structures built after the relocation of the building that are not associated with the allotment period occupation of the house. The property is situated atop an ascendant level shelf on a broad, north-facing slope overlooking the Missouri River floodplain. The shelf is human-made, and the resulting cut banks are terraced with stone rip rap retention walls. Vegetation within the site and surrounding area is typical of an urban setting, characterized by cultivated grass intermixed with a dense growth of invasive forbs and delineated by linear stands of deciduous fruit trees along the drainage banks and roadways.



**Figure 19. KX08-042, William Bear Allotment House, facing north.**

### **Architectural Description**

The William Bear Allotment House is a two-and-a-half-story example of a late nineteenth century Ponca allotment residence with substantial recent alterations. As a result of the recent changes to the building, it currently represents a modern facsimile of the Late Victorian Eastlake style. The residence features a complex, irregular plan with composite clapboard siding, a projecting, two-story, gabled south side canted window bay, a cross-gable roof with boxed soffits, and composite Victorian style decorative appliqué. Oriented facing southwest towards Juniper Road, the house has a 21-foot (north to south) by 36-foot (east to west) 10-corner footprint composed of a rectangular plan main mass modified by a projecting two-story window bay centered in the southwest elevation. The building exhibits narrow, vertical massing, and rests upon a poured concrete weather sill foundation, incised on the exterior to

resemble brick masonry. The wood framed walls are clad with narrow horizontal clapboard siding made of a composite material and trimmed along the corners and second level sill line with classical molded composite fascia board.

The house is fenestrated with 16 vinyl replacement windows arranged in an asymmetrical fashion throughout the elevations. The windows represent a variety of styles and types, including 1-over-1 double-hung, 1-by-1 sliding sash, and fixed single pane awning windows. All of the windows observed in the home are elaborated with a molded composite surround with fluted pilasters, simple drip friezes, and cyma form cornices. The projecting two-story window bay on the southwest elevation features seven windows, with a bank of three in the lower level, three in the upper level, and a single divided oval (oculus) window placed beneath the south side gable. The three windows on each level of the projecting canted window bay include two vertical, single fixed pane windows flanking a central 1-over-1 sash-and-transom window. Distinctively, the south gable end is flush and does not have biased side walls, resulting in prominent gable feet adorned with ogee form brackets. The east gable end features a divided gothic arched window over a large triptych picture window, surmounted by a segmental arched top light enriched with a false French arch. The west gable end has a similar gothic gable window, above two 1-by-1 sliding sash windows.

The main entry is placed within an ornate open porch with a board floor on the building's southeast corner. The porch is covered by a low pitched shed roof supported by turned spindle columns, divided by acanthus pattern spandrels and sunburst brackets. An ornate turned spindle balustrade railing spans the porch columns. The entry is equipped with a  $\frac{3}{4}$  light single molded door leaf with fretwork panels and a geometric stained glass light.

The entire rear elevation is enclosed by a modern full-width wood deck, extending over the slope face. The deck is enclosed by a steel balustrade railing, and is accessed via a steel staircase descending from the rear aspect. The roof of the house is a steeply pitched cross gable, covered with asphalt shingles. The overhanging roof ends are enclosed with boxed soffits.

In addition to the primary house there are two ancillary features, a cylindrical propane storage tank and a dry laid stone walkway.

The William Bear Allotment House represents a larger and more elaborate example of Ponca allotment period architecture. The building shares some similarities to other Ponca and Santee allotment houses including the steep gabled roof and asymmetrical façade. Nevertheless, the elaborate decorative features, and two-and-a-half-story massing is far more elaborate and ornate than any other standing example of allotment architecture in the area.

### **Historical Background**

According to Local Ponca Historian Sandy "Stan" Taylor, this house was originally located east of the Ponca Community Center on the former allotment property of William Bear in Section 25 of Township 32 North, Range 7 West. An historic photograph of the former Santee Agency property shows a small portion of William Bear's house in the background.

In 1891, William Bear received his allotment of approximately 320 acres, in two non-contiguous parcels in Section 15, and in Sections 22 and 30 of Township 32 North, Range 7 West. His house was on the land in Section 30 located just east of the Ponca Agency, and across the road from the Episcopal church. At the same time that William Bear received his 320-acre allotment, his four children also received 80-acre allotments, which, considering their ages, would have been under their father's control. William Bear's daughters Rosa (age 5), Ruth (age 3), and Hazel (age 1), and his son Harrison (age 2) each acquired 80-acre allotments in Sections 15 and 22 neighboring their father's land.

William Bear was employed as a blacksmith, working through the Indian agency, but may have tried to farm some of his allotted land, at least for personal use. He filed for a fee patent in 1906, under the Burke Act, as did his daughter Ruth Bear in 1911 (Allotment 99, Roll 6). The remaining three children who received allotments, Rosa, Hazel, and Harrison, all filed for their patents in 1916 when the trust period expired, having been excluded from the 10-year extension of the trust. Hazel Bear, who had been leasing her 80 acres to Benjamin Thompson, a neighboring farmer, sold her land to Ole Hansing in 1920 (Allotment 99, Roll 6). Ruth and Harrison had similarly sold their allotments and left the area by 1920.

William Bear passed away in 1912, and the land (already out of trust) was inherited in its entirety by his wife Mary. By 1922, Mary was leasing 157 acres of their land in Sections 25 and 30 to Hans Schroeder, a farmer living in Niobrara. Schroeder lived on the property and farmed there until at least 1934. Schroeder's lease was paid for with a combination of rent and sharecropping. Schroeder made numerous improvements to the land over the years including installing fencing, a house, a wooden granary, a steel granary, a barn, and a cattle shed. When Mary Bear passed away, management of the family land fell to the children, who continued to lease the land. None of William's children lived on their lands in Knox County, but are listed as absentee owners in the allotment records (Allotment 99, Roll 6).

Schroeder struggled with farming the leased land, and in 1933 was described as "perpetually delinquent" in his rent payments (Allotment 99, Rolls 390–392). In 1935, he owed Lena Bear-Browning, one of William's youngest daughters, \$380 in back rent. By 1938, the land was instead leased to F.D. Jones, who continued to lease the property through the 1940s, making additional improvements to the property. William's eldest daughter Rosa continued to manage their property as an absentee owner, until her death in 1958.

Some time between 2003 and 2005, the former William Bear Allotment House was moved from its original location to its present one, east of the Niobrara River on Juniper Road. Most of the renovations to the building were likely made at that time.

### **NRHP Eligibility Recommendation**

The William Bear Allotment House has been moved from its original location on William Bear's former allotment east of the Ponca Community Building to a new location on the east end of the town of Niobrara. The building has also been heavily modified including the replacement of all of the windows, the original siding, the original roof cladding, and the replacement of decorative appliqué that may not have been present on the original building. As a result of the relocation and renovation, the location, setting, design, workmanship, and

materials of the original allotment house have been greatly impacted. Generally speaking, relocated properties are excluded from inclusion in the NRHP unless they are of transcendent historical importance.

Although this building represents the only standing residence clearly associated with Northern Ponca allotment, the significant remodeling of the property and the relocation of this resource from its original context have impacted the historical integrity of this building to the extent that it no longer adequately conveys its significance under Criterion A for its association with the allotment period.

Although relocated and heavily altered, this building may be eligible for nomination to the NRHP under Criterion B for its association with William Bear. Further investigation into this resource is required, including consultation with the Northern Ponca regarding the significant contributions to Northern Ponca history by William Bear, before this building can be adequately assessed for NRHP eligibility under Criterion B.

Although the core of the building still contains portions of William Bear's allotment property, the alterations and relocation of the building have impacted the historical integrity to the extent that it no longer conveys its significance as an allotment property from the Ponca allotment period (1891–1934), nor does it reflect a specific style or type of construction. This study therefore recommends this property as not eligible for inclusion on the NRHP under Criterion C.

This study did not assess the archaeological potential of these resources. As a result, SWCA recommends that the resource remain unevaluated for NRHP eligibility under Criterion D.

### **KX00-380 Star Frazier Allotment House**

#### **Site Setting**

The Star Frazier Allotment House is one of four standing buildings and four structures located within a currently occupied rural residential property (Figure 20). The property is situated upon a broad ledge at the base of an east- to west-trending ridge within an ascendant terrace overlooking the Bazile Creek floodplain to the east. The former allotment house is located to the rear (west) of the other buildings on the property and is the only one that dates to the Santee allotment period (1889–1934). Vegetation within the property consists of short, maintained and cultivated grasses within the level plain with moderately dense deciduous woodland covering the slope faces along the west and south edges of the property.

#### **Architectural Description**

The Star Frazier Allotment House is a single-story rural residence reflective of Indian allotment housing constructed during the Santee allotment period (1889–1934). Stylistically the house represents a local, vernacular type apparently similar to the National Folk Style that was popular in rural areas of the United States between 1850 and 1890 (McAlester and McAlester 1984). Currently used as a storage shed, the former dwelling has a simple two-bay rectangular plan measuring 20 feet (north to south) by 12 feet (east to west) oriented facing east towards 531 Avenue. The building has a poured concrete wall foundation, raised to form a weather sill that supports wood framed walls sheathed with wooden horizontal drop siding.



In addition to the original cladding, several dimension timbers are fastened to the exterior walls with large steel lag bolts. The timbers support a series of metal hooks where various agricultural tools have been hung.



**Figure 20. KX00-380, Star Frazier Allotment House, facing southeast.**

The walls feature three window and two door openings centered on the side elevations but arranged asymmetrically on the front and rear elevations. The two entries include a single-entry door centered in the west elevation, and another in the south bay of the opposite (east) elevation. The rear entry is a single leaf paneled wood door set into a milled wood fascia jamb. The front entry is of similar construction, however, the door leaf is no longer present and the opening has been infilled with wooden planks. The window openings are identical, 2-by 5-foot vertical openings with milled wood surrounds, but all of the original glazed windows are missing. Two of the windows have been boarded up using paneled wood doors set into the openings, while the third has been enclosed with wooden planks. Both the door and window openings on the front elevation have been spanned with wooden draught team yokes.

A front porch appears to have been removed from the front elevation, as indicated by differential weather staining visible on the wall cladding and damage to the eave that is consistent with the removal of structural materials. The Star Frazier Allotment House has a steep side gabled roof with moderate overhanging eaves. The eaves are enclosed with a wood fascia cornice and soffit and the roof is clad with corrugated steel panels. The gable ends each feature a square loft opening, closed with flush wooden doors clad in wall siding.

The interior of the building is divided into two equally sized, square plan rooms defined by a partial-width wood framed partition wall. The floors are exposed wood plank subflooring while the wood framed walls are clad with wooden beadboard panels. There is no apparent ceiling, with the interior open to the roof line. At the present time, numerous pieces of farm equipment are being stored within the building. The current landowner, William Freiberg, related that for a time, this building was used as a granary.

The Star Frazier Allotment House shares many architectural features common to Ponca and Santee allotment period homes including a two-bay rectangular footprint, clapboard siding, an asymmetrical arrangement of windows and doors, and a steeply pitched side gabled roof.

Since its original construction, the Star Frazier Allotment House has undergone a number of alterations. These alterations include the removal of all of the windows and sealing of all of the window openings, the attachment of timbers to the exterior walls, the removal of a rear porch, and the replacement of the roof cladding.

The Star Frazier Allotment House is located within a larger concentration of buildings and structures comprising the farmstead. In addition to the Star Frazier house, there are five buildings, including two barns, a currently occupied residence, a privy, and a utility shed. Other features on the property include a collapsed ancillary building, a doghouse, a root cellar, and a pair of fuel tanks. These buildings and features are associated with the occupied residence, and are not associated with the allotment period occupation of the Star Frazier Allotment House.

Barn 1 – Barn 1 is a single-story barn of early twentieth century type construction located at the northwest corner of the property, on the west side of the access road. The barn has a simple rectangular plan and is oriented along a north to south axis (Noble and Cleek 2006). Barn 1 has wood framed walls clad with horizontal wood siding and is covered by a steeply pitched front gabled roof.

Barn 2 – Barn 2 is a single-story barn of early twentieth century type construction located at the northeast corner of the property, on the east side of the access road opposite Barn 1 (Noble and Cleek 2006). This barn also has a simple rectangular plan oriented north to south. The barn has wood framed walls clad with horizontal wood siding and a steeply pitched side gabled roof.

Residence – Currently occupied, this building is a single-story Ranch style dwelling of mid-twentieth century design. The residence is banked into the east slope of a low embankment immediately east of the Star Frazier Allotment House. The residence has a rectangular plan which is oriented facing 531 Avenue. The dwelling is of wood framed construction, sheathed with a brick masonry veneer. It is covered by a low-pitched side gabled roof penetrated by a number of ventilation flues.

Privy – This small outbuilding is a single-stall, wood framed privy with a square plan and a shed roof located immediately south of Barn 1 and north of the residence.

Shed – This outbuilding is a small, square plan wood framed utility shed located immediately west of and adjacent to the privy.

### **Historical Background**

According to local Santee resident Clarence Campbell, this property was the original allotment house of Star Frazier and his family. Star Frazier was born in Minnesota in 1848, and moved to Knox County along with the rest of the Santee in 1866 following the Minnesota uprising. Allotment records were not available for the Santee, but Star Frazier likely acquired his allotment some time between 1889 and 1893. Star and his wife Sarah raised four children on this property: Daniel, Susan, Freddie, and James. In 1920, when the trust period for Star Frazier's allotment was set to expire, Woodrow Wilson signed an act extending the trust period for 14 Santee allotments (Star Frazier's included) for a period of 10 years. In 1930, Herbert Hoover signed a similar act, extending the trust period until 1940 (Kappler 1929, 1941). Star Frazier and his family were considered successful farmers in the area and when Star passed away the property passed to his wife and to his children.

Construction records were not located for this property; however, this building has a similar design to the other allotment period houses found on the Santee Reservation, and may have been built by Oliver La Croix, a Santee carpenter who was responsible for the construction of many of the Santee allotment homes.

According to local residents, as related by Clarence Campbell, the Star Frazier house was originally located on the east side of 531 Avenue, on the west bank of Bazile Creek. A massive flood some time around 1915 nearly destroyed the dwelling, and resulted in the death of two of Fred ("Freddie") Frazier's children (Star Frazier's grandchildren). After the flood, in 1915, the Santee community helped the Frazier family move the building across the road to its current location. Mr. Campbell relates that the descendants of Star Frazier continued to occupy the house after the flood, and also occupied the neighboring Abraham allotment house to the north.

The Star Frazier home is currently owned by William Frieberg, who modified the building for use as a granary. This conversion likely resulted in the sealing of the window openings on the north and south elevations, and the removal of the interior walls. At the present time, the building is used for storage.

### **NRHP Eligibility Recommendation**

This resource is the former Star Frazier Allotment House, built ca. 1900. Specific information about its origin could not be located, but local residents recall that this building was occupied by Star Frazier and his descendants until the middle of the twentieth century. Although this building stands as an example of the allotment period, the building has been removed from its original location along the west bank of Bazile Creek. Buildings removed from their original context generally are not considered eligible for nomination to the NRHP except for their architectural significance, or for their associations with events or individuals of transcendent significance.

The removal of this building from its original location, and its current placement within the context of another farm residence as an ancillary building has impacted its association with the allotment period occupation of this residence by Star Frazier. As a result, this study recommends KX00-380 as not eligible for nomination to the NRHP under Criterion A.

Relocated buildings can be considered for NRHP eligibility if they are associated with a person of transcendent importance. Further investigation into this resource is required, including consultation with the Northern Ponca regarding the significant contributions to Northern Ponca history by Star Frazier, before this building can be adequately assessed for NRHP eligibility under Criterion B.

Since being relocated, the building has been re-used as a granary and a storage shed by the present owners, but overall has seen little exterior alteration from its historical form. The windows have been boarded up, but the window openings remain in place, and overall the building still conveys the design, workmanship, and materials of its original construction. As a result, while the Star Frazier Allotment House no longer stands in its original location on the Star Frazier allotment, it still retains its architectural significance as an example of late nineteenth to early twentieth century construction, typical to Santee allotment period construction. Under Special Criteria Consideration B, a relocated property can be considered for inclusion in the NRHP provided it retains sufficient integrity to convey its architectural significance. This study therefore recommends that this property be considered eligible for nomination to the NRHP under Criterion C and Special Criteria Consideration B as an example of late nineteenth and early twentieth century rural architecture.

This study did not assess the archaeological potential of these resources. As a result, SWCA recommends that the resource remain unevaluated for NRHP eligibility under Criterion D.

### **KX00-214 Abraham/Frazier Allotment House**

#### **Site Setting**

The Abraham/Frazier Allotment House is located on the north end of an occupied rural residence situated upon an elevated terrace overlooking the Bazile Creek floodplain (Figure 21). In addition to the Abraham/Frazier Allotment House, the property also includes a currently occupied residence and several ancillary buildings, one of which is the former allotment residence of Star Frazier (KX00-380). An unnamed unimproved access road crosses the property north of the building and continues to the west. Vegetation across the property consists of short, maintained and cultivated grasses within the level plain with moderately dense deciduous woodland covering the slope faces along the east and south edges of the property.



**Figure 21. KX00-214, Abraham/Frazier Allotment House, facing west.**

### **Architectural Description**

The Abraham/Frazier Allotment House is an abandoned and partially collapsed single-story dwelling reflective of Indian allotment housing constructed during the Santee allotment period (1889–1934). Stylistically the house represents a local, vernacular type apparently influenced by the National Folk Style which was popular in rural areas of the United States between approximately 1850 and 1890 (McAlester and McAlester 1984). The house faces east, towards 531 Avenue, and is similar in design and appearance to the nearby Star Frazier Allotment House. Currently abandoned, the residence has a simple, two-bay rectangular plan that measures 26 feet (north to south) by 16 feet (east to west). The Abraham/Frazier Allotment House has a wood framed structure clad in horizontal wood drop siding and rests upon a poured concrete wall foundation, bolstered at the corners by dry-laid brick masonry piers. The concrete foundation wall is raised to form a weather sill that extends 12 feet past the northwest corner of the building and terminates at three square concrete slabs, suggesting there was once a porch or addition along this wall that is no longer present. The west, or rear elevation is severely degraded, with over 50 percent of the wall cladding missing, thus exposing the interior of the building.

The building features five windows and two door openings, which are arranged asymmetrically on the front, rear, and side elevations. All of the original windows and doors have been removed and replaced with later components of various materials. The two door openings are equipped with flush steel single leaf replacement doors. The vertically oriented window openings measure 2 by 5 feet, and all are partially boarded up with particle board. The building has a steeply pitched side gabled roof that is sagging along the crest due to structural failure. The roof is covered with wood shake shingles and features moderate

overhangs enclosed with milled wood fascia. A square chimney constructed from brick and concrete rises from the roof crest at the center of the building.

The building's interior is divided into three rectangular rooms by wood framed partition walls that are covered with a base layer of plaster and lathe covered by a superficial layer of prefabricated gypsum board. The walls separate the space into a main room on the north and two smaller rooms on the south accessible from the main room by squared entries dressed with milled wood jambs; one of which is still equipped with a paneled wood interior door. All of the floors are exposed and reveal the deteriorated wood plank subflooring. The floor space is covered with a dense scatter of modern debris including a steel writing desk, shodding nails, a plastic toy Jeep, a coffee mug, and miscellaneous pieces of metal among numerous other non-specific items. The two southern rooms contain abundant evidence of occupation by birds in recent years.

The Abraham/Frazier Allotment House shares several architectural features common to Ponca and Santee allotment period construction, including a simple two-bay rectangular plan, an asymmetrical arrangement of doors and windows, and a steeply pitched side gable roof with a central brick masonry chimney. The building has undergone a number of apparent intentional and unintentional alterations since its original construction. Resulting both from neglect and continued use of the building, the alterations include the changing use of the smaller interior rooms, the replacement of all doors and windows, the apparent removal of a porch or other structure from the rear elevation, and the collapse of the rear exterior wall resulting in exposure of the building's interior.

In addition to these alterations and changes, the characteristics of the foundation suggest that the building was moved to this location from a different, unknown location.

Two non-architectural features are present within the immediate vicinity of the Abraham/Frazier Allotment House. To the west of the main building is a rectangular concrete subfloor building foundation, measuring 50 feet north to south and 20 feet east to west. According to local Santee resident Clarence Campbell, a government-built residence stood on the foundation in the 1960s, but was later moved to a new location. The second feature is a collapsed windmill tower located north of the allotment house along the south side of the access road.

### **Historical Background**

The 1920 Knox County Atlas indicates that the building is situated within the historic boundaries of the Paul Abraham Allotment within the Santee Sioux Reservation (Anderson Publishing Company 1920). Local histories, as related by local Santee resident Clarence Campbell and Ramona Frazier, the granddaughter of Star Frazier, indicated that this house was occupied at different times by both the Abraham, and Frazier families. Both Paul Abraham and Star Frazier were registered members of the Santee Sioux Tribe as early as 1885, and received these allotments some time around 1889 when the former Santee Sioux Reservation was divided up into individual allotments (Kappler 1904).

There are two Paul Abrahams on the Santee Rolls. The elder Paul Abraham was 53 in 1885, and passed away two years before the Santee allotment period. His nephew was the second



Paul Abraham, who was only two years old when the former Santee Sioux Reservation was divided up into individual allotments. As a child, he received an 80-acre allotment, the location of which was likely selected by his father William Abraham. Historical records make no specific mention of the younger Paul Abraham, and it is not clear how long he may have occupied the property. Ramona Frazier indicated that a William or Bill Abraham may have occupied the property for a brief time in the early twentieth century.

According to both Ms. Frazier and Mr. Campbell, the residence was subsequently occupied by the Fred Frazier, Star Frazier's son, and his family for most of its existence. Star Frazier and his family also occupied the former allotment residence immediately south of the Abraham/Frazier Allotment House.

The Abraham/Frazier Allotment House and the neighboring Star Frazier Allotment House were both relocated to their present locations some time around 1915. Originally, both of these buildings were located along the west bank of Bazile Creek, but a massive flood brought about by a severe summer storm between May 25 and May 27, 1915 nearly wiped out the two homes (Frazier 2010; Niobrara Bicentennial Committee 1976). Fred and Rebecca Frazier lost two children in the flood, and following the ordeal, the local Santee community came together to help the Frazier family move the two houses. Mr. Campbell related that according to local residents, the spirits of Fred Frazier and his wife Rebecca can be seen walking through the area searching for their lost children (Campbell 2010). The buildings were moved to the west side of 531 Avenue some time after the flood. According to Ramona Frazier, The granddaughter of Star Frazier, William (or Bill) Abraham lived in the house not long after it was moved to its new location. Mr. Campbell remembers that Fred Frazier, Star Frazier's son, lived in the house with his family until 1957 or 1958 when he passed away.

According to Mr. Campbell, a government house was built on the property in the 1960s, but the building was later moved farther south, near Howe Creek. The remains of a rectangular concrete foundation and a windmill frame remain on the property as evidence of its presence.

The Abraham/Frazier Allotment House is currently located on the Freiberg property, and is neither occupied nor in habitable condition. According to Mr. Campbell, the building has been vacant since the 1980s.

### **NRHP Eligibility Recommendation**

The Abraham/Frazier Allotment House is a surviving example of Santee allotment period domestic architecture constructed sometime around 1900. The building was moved to this property sometime after 1946, from its original location on the west bank of Bazile Creek. Although located on the allotted lands of Paul Abraham, the property appears to have been occupied by the Frazier family through much of its existence. Buildings removed from their original context generally are not considered eligible for nomination to the NRHP except for their architectural significance, or for their associations with events or individuals of transcendent significance. Although this building has been removed from its original context, and no longer retains the original location and setting associated with the allotment period, this building may be considered eligible for inclusion on the NRHP for its association with events following the allotment period or for its association with the Frazier family. Further

investigation into this resource is required, including consultation with the Santee Sioux regarding the significant contributions of this resource to Santee Sioux history before this building can be adequately assessed for NRHP eligibility under Criteria A or B.

This building has greatly deteriorated over the years due to neglect; however, the building retains many of its original architectural features. Very few Santee allotment period buildings remain standing, and most have been heavily altered from their original form. The Abraham/Frazier Allotment House represents one of the most intact examples of the side gabled hall-and-parlor style common to Santee allotment architecture. As a result, while the Abraham/Frazier Allotment House no longer stands in its original location on the Abraham allotment, it retains its architectural significance as an example of late nineteenth to early twentieth century construction, typical to the Santee allotment period. Under Special Criteria Consideration B, a relocated property can be considered for inclusion in the NRHP provided it retains sufficient integrity to convey its architectural significance. This study therefore recommends that this property be considered eligible for nomination to the NRHP under Criterion C and Special Criteria Consideration B as an example of late nineteenth and early twentieth century rural architecture.

This study did not assess the archaeological potential of these resources. As a result, SWCA recommends that the resource remain unevaluated for NRHP eligibility under Criterion D.

### **KX00-383 Zimmerman Allotment House**

#### **Site Setting**

The Zimmerman Allotment House is a currently occupied rural residential property consisting of three standing buildings and two other features situated upon a broad ledge at the base of an east- to west-trending ridge (Figure 22). The residence is centrally located within the property, overlooking the Bazile Creek floodplain to the west. The allotment house is situated on a level area defined on the north by an east- to west-trending ephemeral draw, and a steep slope along the east and the south. Vegetation within the property consists of short, maintained and cultivated grasses within the level plain with moderately dense deciduous woodland covering the slope faces and along the draw banks.



**Figure 22. KX00-383, Zimmerman Allotment House, facing west.**

### **Architectural Description**

The Zimmerman Allotment House is a single-story rural residence reflective of Indian allotment housing constructed during the Santee allotment period (1889–1934), with several mid-late twentieth century alterations. Stylistically the house represents a local, vernacular type apparently influenced by the National Folk Style, popular in rural areas of the United States between 1850 and 1890 (McAlester and McAlester 1984). The residence has a six-corner L-shaped plan that measures 45 feet (north to south) by 35 feet (east to west) oriented facing east towards 531 Avenue. The original rectangular plan, side-gabled portion of the building is still visible within the numerous additions. The original building has been modified by a prominent addition to the northeast corner, an enclosed inset porch, and full-width addition to the west elevation. The Zimmerman Allotment House has wood framed walls, supported by a poured concrete wall foundation on the original portion, with steel piers supporting the later additions. The exterior walls are clad with a variety of materials including horizontal wood drop siding and a more modern vertical wood siding.

Thirteen windows and two doors are set into the walls of the Zimmerman Allotment House, none of which are original to the building. The windows and doors are arranged asymmetrically on each façade, and include aluminum, wood, and steel framed replacement windows with a mixture of casement, sash, and fixed types. In addition, the two doors are equipped with  $\frac{3}{4}$  glazed wooden door leaves. The front (east) elevation features a  $\frac{3}{4}$  length porch set into an inset formed between the original portion of the house and a more recently constructed, prominent shed roofed addition. The porch has a wood plank floor raised upon milled timber stanchions. The porch has a low-pitched shed roof, supported by timber T-frame posts and clad with corrugated steel paneling. The core of the house, however, features a low side gabled roof with a shed roofed extension along the west and over the later addition.

The roof is covered with raised seam steel panels extended to wide boxed eaves and punctuated by a single brick central hearth chimney rising from the crest of the roof.

The interior of the building was not accessible at the time of the survey.

The original portion of the Zimmerman Allotment House shares several architectural features with other Ponca and Santee allotment buildings in the area, including a two-bay rectangular plan, a steeply pitched side gabled roof, and a central brick masonry chimney. The building has undergone a number of alterations since its original construction that have greatly obscured the original allotment building. The alterations include the removal and replacement of all of the windows and doors, the re-cladding of a portion of the exterior, the installation of a front porch, and the construction of large additions to both the front and the rear of the building resulting in substantial alteration of the original building footprint.

In addition to the primary residence, there are two buildings and two other features within the Zimmerman Allotment property including a shed, a detached garage, a basketball hoop, and a steel propane storage tank.

The shed is a 12- by 8-foot, single-story, rectangular plan building located northwest of the house, on the north side of the access road. The shed rests on a sleeper-on-grade timber foundation, and has wood framed walls clad with horizontal wood clapboard siding. A full-width porch is attached to the south elevation of the shed. The shed's porch has a pediment roof, which extends from the primary roof and is supported by upright timber posts. The shed has a low gabled roof clad with fiberglass paneling.

The garage is located southeast of the residence and is a single-story detached building with a 15- by 20-foot rectangular plan. The garage does not appear to have a foundation, and is constructed of rigid wood framed walls clad on the exterior with horizontally oriented raised seam steel panels. The garage is covered by a low-pitched front gable roof clad with steel paneling that extends beyond the building's walls as wide, unfinished eaves.

### **Historical Background**

This former allotment residence is located on the former allotment of Charles Zimmerman. Little information was found regarding the Zimmerman family. Charles Zimmerman was 57 when the Santee Sioux Reservation was divided up into individual allotments. According to the 1920 township map, Charles (age 53), Ulysses (30), and Jamie (age 5) Zimmerman all held neighboring allotments along 531 Avenue. The three were all members of different households, and it is likely that their families held other allotted lands in the area.

Charles Zimmerman was listed as a scout in General Custer's Seventh Cavalry in 1874, but was not present with the Army at the Battle of Little Big Horn in June of 1876 (Grafe and Horsted 2005). Zimmerman lived with his family on his allotted lands until at least 1912. No other historical records were found regarding Charles Zimmerman. Clarence Campbell, a local Santee who has lived in the area on and off since the 1930s, does not remember any of the Zimmerman family living in this household. He recalled that Ulysses Zimmerman and his son lived closer to Santee. Mr. Campbell recalled that Charles Zimmerman deeded the house to Theresa Campbell (Clarence Campbell's grandmother) when he passed away (ca. 1913),

since Theresa had helped raise his children. Theresa Campbell was married to a man with the last name of “Denny.” Clarence Campbell was not able to recall any other details about Mr. Denny or his grandmother’s occupation of the former Zimmerman Allotment House (Campbell 2009).

Although the specific period of construction for the buildings was not determined, most of the alterations to the building appear to have been made within recent years, including some recent alterations that are not entirely completed. In 1979 the property was occupied by Rudolf Fritz, and as of 2005, the property was occupied by Sam Denny, likely a relation to the former “Denny” who occupied the property when Mr. Campbell was a child.

### **NRHP Eligibility Recommendation**

The Zimmerman Allotment House is a surviving but greatly altered example of allotment period construction probably built some time around 1900. The specific date of construction for this building could not be identified, however the original portion of the building shares several design characteristics with other Santee allotment houses built during the very end of the nineteenth century or very beginning of the twentieth century. Historical research was unable to determine how long Charles Zimmerman occupied this property, nor who else may have occupied the property through most of the twentieth century.

The alterations of this building made outside of the allotment period have significantly impacted the historical integrity of this resource. Nevertheless, this building has the potential to be eligible for inclusion on the NRHP for its associations with events or persons that made significant contributions to Santee Sioux history. Further investigation into this resource is required, including consultation with the Santee Sioux regarding the significant contributions of this resource to Santee Sioux history, before this building can be adequately assessed for NRHP eligibility under Criteria A or B.

Although elements of the original allotment house remain visible, the prominent additions and other changes have greatly altered the design, workmanship, and materials of the original dwelling to the extent that it no longer adequately conveys either the significance of the Santee allotment period or the architectural characteristics of the Santee allotment house type. Due to the substantial loss of integrity, this study recommends the Zimmerman Allotment House as not eligible for nomination to the NRHP under Criterion C.

This study did not assess the archaeological potential of these resources. As a result, SWCA recommends that the resource remain unevaluated for NRHP eligibility under Criterion D.

### **KX00-379 Albert Frazier Allotment House**

#### **Site Setting**

The Albert Frazier Allotment House is an abandoned building situated on a relatively level area on the primary floodplain terrace of Bazile Creek (Figure 23). The east side of the property is open, but overgrown with native grasses, while the north, west, and south ends of the property are overgrown with dense deciduous and coniferous woody species. Located on the property is the former allotment residence along with several ancillary structures including a springhouse, a small shack, a collapsed barn, and a well/cistern.





**Figure 23. KX00-379, Albert Frazier Allotment House, facing southwest.**

### **Architectural Description**

The Albert Frazier Allotment House is a partially collapsed one-and-a-half-story early twentieth century Indian allotment house constructed during the Santee allotment period (1889–1934) with substantial middle to late twentieth century alterations. Stylistically the house represents a local, vernacular type apparently influenced by the National Folk Style which was popular in rural areas of the United States between 1850 and 1890 (McAlester and McAlester 1984). Currently, the building has a one-and-a-half-story rectangular plan that is 36 feet (east to west) by 32 feet (north to south) in size. The plan is comprised of the original building with a single-story, L-shaped plan that is augmented by large additions to the north and south elevations, as well as a half-story pop-up constructed on the original roofline. The building has a wood framed wall structure, supported by a poured concrete wall foundation, and is clad with several different materials on the exterior. The exterior cladding includes horizontal clapboard wood siding on the main level and wide, composite material horizontal siding on the upper half-story.

The building features nine windows and three doors, arranged asymmetrically on each elevation. The windows include both original and later replacements. The original windows consist of 2- by 5-foot double-hung windows with wood frames and a 4-over-4 glazing pattern, while the replacement windows represent a variety of materials and types. The doors of the building are missing, but door openings are each 2-foot 6-inch by 6-foot 3-inch single leaf openings with roughed out wood frames.

The roof of the residence has a complex, multi-planar form composed of a steep sloping cross gable intersected asymmetrically by a low profile shed roof and an asymmetrical low sloping gable that extends to wide decorative eaves enclosed with milled wood fascia. Generally, the



roof is covered with three-tabbed asphalt shingling. A single brick masonry chimney composed of reused blonde bricks laid in thick, irregular mortar beds is set into the north slope of the roof. The building also features a poured concrete veranda, which wraps around the northeast corner of the building.

The interior of the Albert Frazier Allotment House is separated into seven rooms on the main floor, divided by a central staircase leading to the upper half story and an access ladder leading to a partial cellar. The seven rooms include a large central room orbited by three small, rectangular rooms and a mud vestibule on the west and two rectangular rooms and a half bathroom on the east. The rooms are defined by wood framed partition walls covered with gypsum board and trimmed with wood fascia at the entries. The floors of the Albert Frazier Allotment House are composed of a wood plank subfloor, partially covered with parquet pattern linoleum.

### **Historical Background**

The property is located on the former allotment property of Albert Frazier, a member of the Santee who trained at the Santee Normal School and worked as a native missionary for the Santee Normal School and was a preacher for the Bazile Creek Church (American Missionary Association 1898; Morton 1906). Albert also helped establish the Santee High School along with Eli Abraham and Albert L. Riggs (Lounsberry 1919). Albert and his wife Lizzie had seven children. In addition to his preaching duties, Albert farmed his allotted land.

According to local Santee resident Clarence Campbell, the property was occupied periodically through at least the 1960s by members of the Frazier family. Specifically, Mr. Campbell remembers Albert's son David Frazier residing in the house. Like his father, David Frazier also attended the Santee Normal School, and in 1936, when the Santee Sioux reorganized, he became one of the chairpersons of the Santee Tribal Council (U.S. Department of the Interior 1936). The Albert Frazier Allotment House is currently unoccupied.

### **NRHP Eligibility Recommendation**

The Albert Frazier Allotment House is a standing example of allotment architecture dating to the early twentieth century. One of the most detrimental effects of Santee Sioux allotment was the loss of land and the emigration of Santee families due to the turbulent economic conditions during the allotment period and throughout the twentieth century. Land sales due to complicated inheritance systems, or to pay off incurred debts resulted in very few families retaining their original allotments over multiple generations. Difficulties in developing successful farming and stock raising operations on allotment properties encouraged many Santee children to leave their families' allotted land and search for employment elsewhere. According to local informant Clarence Campbell, household size during the early twentieth century changed periodically due to the need for families to travel long distances for available work.

Although heavily altered from its original form, KX00-379 stands as an example of the continued occupation beyond the allotment period, and the alterations and upgrades made due to expanded family demographics during the twentieth century. These alterations are characteristic of long-term agricultural occupations, which saw periodic additions due to

changes in family size. The continuous occupation of KX00-379 by the Frazier family on its original allotment until at least the 1960s provides an excellent example of the successful navigation of the difficult economic conditions during and after the allotment period. This study therefore recommends this resource as eligible for nomination to the NRHP under Criterion A.

Although relocated and heavily altered, this building may be eligible for nomination to the NRHP under Criterion B for its association with a member of the Frazier family. Further investigation into this resource is required, including consultation with the Santee Sioux regarding the significant contributions to Santee Sioux history by Albert and David Frazier, before this building can be adequately assessed for NRHP eligibility under Criterion B.

A specific date of construction for the Albert Frazier Allotment House could not be identified, but the original building shares several architectural features with other allotment period buildings in the area including a simple two-bay rectangular plan, an asymmetrical façade, and a steep side-gabled roof. Although the original building dates to the allotment period, the building has had numerous additions that have altered the design, workmanship, and materials of the original construction. As a result, the building no longer sufficiently conveys the significance of the allotment period, nor does it represent a significant architectural style. As a result of these alterations, the building no longer retains sufficient historical integrity for inclusion in the NRHP under Criterion C.

This study did not assess the archaeological potential of these resources. As a result, SWCA recommends that the resource remain unevaluated for NRHP eligibility under Criterion D.

### **KX00-381 Rouillard Allotment House**

#### **Site Setting**

The Rouillard Allotment House is one of three buildings and two collapsed ancillary structures located within the Rouillard Allotment property (Figure 24). The buildings are situated upon a level secondary terrace overlooking the Bazile Creek floodplain to the east and below a rolling upland terrain rising to the west. Within the level terrain the vegetation is dominated by an overgrown ground cover of cultivated short grasses interspersed with occasional deciduous trees. The lower floodplain terrace, however, is an actively cultivated corn field.



**Figure 24. KX00-381, Rouillard Allotment House, facing southeast.**

### **Architectural Description**

The Rouillard Allotment House is a partially collapsed one-and-a-half-story rural residence constructed during the Santee allotment period (1889–1934) with later modifications and additions. Currently abandoned, the residence features a 10-corner L-shaped plan defined by a prominent raised concrete wall foundation, wood framed walls with clapboard siding, and a steep cross-gabled roof. The front-facing plan of the residence measures 34 feet (east to west) by 34 feet (north to south), and is oriented facing east towards the agricultural fields in the Bazile Creek floodplain. Contributing to the plan is an original, L-shaped portion altered by two additions: a small vestibule addition in the front inset and a single-story addition to the west elevation.

The original portion of the Rouillard Allotment House has wood framed walls, carried upon a raised, poured concrete foundation and clad with narrow horizontal wood clapboard siding. In contrast, the wood framed walls of the additions are supported by concrete masonry foundations, and have been clad with wider horizontal siding. Set within the walls of the home are 13 windows and two entries arranged asymmetrically in each elevation. The windows all appear to be original to the building, and are typically wood framed 1-foot 6-inch by 4-foot double-hung sash windows with a divided fenestration. In addition to the standard windows are small, double-hung gable windows and a large wood framed picture window. The picture window is set into a gabled prominence in the east façade and comprised of a broad, single pane center lite set off by narrow divided flankers and a narrow, divided top lite. The entries include a side entry and a primary entry, neither of which house a door leaf.

The roof of the residence has a complex profile composed of a steep cross gable over the original, core portion that is modified by two low-profile shed roofs extending over the

additions. The roof planes are clad with three-tabbed asphalt shingling and extend to form moderate decorative overhangs enclosed with milled wood fascia. A single, exterior chimney is attached to the north gable end. The chimney is of brick masonry construction terminating at a terra cotta chimney pot approximately 4 feet above the roof line. At the base of the chimney is a cast iron cleaning portal providing access to the chimney interior. Additional features distinguishing the Rouillard residence are a dry-set stone masonry retention wall extending from the northwest corner and a small flower bed enclosing the rear inset. The flower bed is defined by a short extruded steel fence along the perimeter formed into an oval pattern.

The interior of the Rouillard Allotment House was not accessible at the time of the survey.

The original portion of the Rouillard Allotment House shares several architectural features with other Ponca and Santee allotment period buildings, including an asymmetrical window and door arrangement, a steep gabled roof, and a central brick masonry chimney. Since its original construction, however, the Rouillard house has undergone a series of alterations as well as some substantial degradation. Alterations to the building include the construction of two additions and the re-cladding of the roof. Changes affected by the building as the result of degradation include the collapse of the front addition roof, and rodent burrows beneath the foundation wall.

Additional buildings within the Rouillard Allotment Complex include a springhouse, a shed or garage, an animal pen, a privy, and a collapsed ancillary building of an unknown function.

Springhouse – Located northeast of the residence at the terminus of a dirt driveway, the springhouse is a single-story utilitarian building set directly on grade with no visible foundation and a 6- by 6-foot square plan. The cladding of the wood-framed walls is no longer present; however, a plank sheathing and the remnants of brick patterned asphalt paper cladding are visible. The springhouse has a front gabled roof clad with rolled asphalt paper. The east wall of the springhouse has a ribbon of three window openings, all of which are missing their glazing. There are a number of additional, non-architectural features associated with the springhouse, including a poured concrete open cistern and a well lined with concrete masonry adjacent to the springhouse. Deposited within the springhouse is an intact mechanical pump mechanism embossed with “TYPE: HSW2Y...B6G2-263...Asheville, NC” and “Square Company.”

Shed/Garage – Located east of the residence, the shed/garage is a collapsed rectangular plan ancillary structure consisting of intact wood wall framing and a partially intact roof, defined by isolated stone masonry foundation footers. The foundation features define a rectangular footprint 22 feet (north to south) by 14 feet (east to west) in size. Collapsed in and around the foundation are partial wood framed wall sections and individual milled dimension lumber boards, and a section of a gabled roof. The roof consists of a partial gable, clad with asphalt composite paper and finished with an aluminum flashing strip along the crest.

Pen – The animal pen is an enclosed area located east of the residence and south of the shed/garage within the property. The pen has a rectangular footprint that measures 18 feet 6 inches (north to south) by 14 feet (east to west) in size, and defined by a fence composed of

peeled log posts spanned by milled wood plank rails. Associated with the pen are a number of wood doors, 54 inches in height, and a large feed bucket.

Privy – Located immediately south of residence, the privy is a two-stall “his and hers” privy with a rectangular plan that measures 6 feet (east to west) by 7 feet (north to south) in size. The privy has wood framed walls supported by a concrete block masonry foundation and clad with asphalt paper on the exterior. Typical of privies, the building features a low-sloping shed roof, also clad in asphalt composite paper.

Ancillary 1 – Ancillary 1 is a collapsed ancillary building of unknown function located south of the springhouse and east of the residence. The ancillary consists of scattered construction debris within a 6-foot (north to south) by 12-foot (east to west) rectangular area. Included within the concentrated debris scatter are small-gauge steel nails, milled wood boards, corrugated steel panels, and partially intact wall sections.

### **Historical Background**

According to historical maps of Knox County, this property was originally allotted to Joseph Rouillard. Joseph Rouillard moved to Knox County along with the rest of the Santee Sioux in 1867. In 1889, when the Santee Sioux Reservation was divided into individual allotments, Joseph Rouillard was 30, and was living with his wife Mary, their daughter, and five of his brothers. By 1900, Joseph and his wife had added another five children to their family and were living on their allotment property. Members of the Rouillard family owned several adjacent allotments in the area including Antoine Rouillard and Oliver Rouillard. Unlike many of the Santee who rented out their allotted land, Joseph Rouillard prosperously farmed his allotted property. Joseph Rouillard was one of several Santee allottees who had the trust period for their allotment extended, first in 1920 for a period of 10 years under the signature of Woodrow Wilson, and for another 10 years in 1930 under the signature of Herbert Hoover.

Local Santee resident Clarence Campbell recalls a man named Rouillard living in the house until the late 1950s, and that Mr. Rouillard’s children continued to occupy the property for several years after that. In 1964, the property was still under the control of the Rouillard family, with Ernest Rouillard occupying the house. The building is no longer occupied.

### **NRHP Eligibility Recommendation**

The Rouillard Allotment House is a standing example of allotment architecture dating to the early twentieth century. One of the most detrimental effects of Santee Sioux allotment was the loss of land and the emigration of Santee families due to the turbulent economic conditions during the allotment period and throughout the twentieth century. Land sales due to complicated inheritance systems, or to pay off incurred debts resulted in very few families retaining their original allotments over multiple generations. Difficulties in developing successful farming and stock raising operations on allotment properties encouraged many Santee children to leave their families’ allotted land and search for employment elsewhere. The Rouillard Allotment House is an example of a multiple-generation occupation of an allotment property by a single family. Although altered from its original form, these alterations are characteristic of long-term agricultural occupations, which saw periodic additions due to changes in family size. The continuous occupation of KX00-381 by the

Rouillard family on its original allotment until at least the 1960s provides an excellent example of the successful navigation of the difficult economic conditions during and after the allotment period. This study therefore recommends KX00-381 as eligible for nomination to the NRHP under Criterion A.

Although relocated and heavily altered, this building may be eligible for nomination to the NRHP under Criterion B for its association with a member of the Rouillard family. Further investigation into this resource is required, including consultation with the Santee Sioux regarding the significant contributions to Santee history by the Rouillard family, before this building can be adequately assessed for NRHP eligibility under Criterion B.

A specific date of construction for the house could not be identified, but the original portion of the building shares several architectural features with other allotment period buildings in the area. Although heavily modified from its original L-shaped plan, the original building had a steep-pitched cross gabled roof and an asymmetrical window arrangement, and central chimney. The building is somewhat larger than some of the other allotment homes in the area, and has had numerous additions to the original form. These later additions have altered the design, workmanship, and materials of the original construction. As a result, the building no longer sufficiently conveys the significance of the allotment period, nor does it represent a significant architectural style. As a result of these alterations, the building no longer retains sufficient historical significance for inclusion in the NRHP under Criterion C.

This study did not assess the archaeological potential of these resources. As a result, SWCA recommends that the resource remain unevaluated for NRHP eligibility under Criterion D.

### **KX00-382 Gabe/Antoine Rouillard Allotment House**

#### **Site Setting**

The Gabe/Antoine Rouillard Allotment House is one of two buildings located on the west bank of a north- to south-trending ephemeral drainage and situated atop a level, secondary terrace overlooking the Bazile Creek floodplain (Figure 25). The farmstead sits amidst a cultivated corn field of sufficient maturity on the date of survey to obscure the building(s), with a moderately dense community of riparian woodland species growing along the draw banks. The woodland community is dominated by species of ash, elder, cottonwood, and maple trees with a low to moderately dense understory of assorted woody forbs. This property was surveyed from the ROW, and due to the cultivated crops obscuring view of the property, many architectural details were not visible.





**Figure 25. KX00-382, Gabe/Antoine Rouillard Allotment House, facing north.**

### **Architectural Description**

The Gabe/Antoine Rouillard Allotment House is a single-story example of an early twentieth century hipped-roof-box residence constructed during the Santee allotment period (1889–1934). Stylistically the house represents a local vernacular variant of a hipped-roof-box style of construction, a common style of American architecture in the early twentieth century (McAlester and McAlester 1984). The house is of a wood-framed construction with a square primary plan with a low-profile, single-story massing surmounted by a pyramidal roof and a central chimney. Oriented facing south towards 886 Road, the building has an approximate 25- by 25-foot eight-corner footprint consisting of a square original core compounded by a  $\frac{3}{4}$ -width enclosed front porch on the south, and a full-width addition to the west elevation. The enclosed porch is framed on all sides and enclosed with horizontal wall siding, consistent with the home exterior. The walls have been clad with a replacement composite horizontal clapboard siding.

Seven windows are visible from the 886 Road ROW, arranged symmetrically in the south and west elevations. The windows are of a single type: large single pane replacement windows with aluminum frames. No entries were visible. The Gabe/Antoine Rouillard Allotment House has a moderately sloped, truncated pyramidal roof modified by a low-sloping shed roof over the west addition and the porch. The roof is clad with three-tabbed asphalt shingles, and features moderate decorative eaves boxed with milled wood fascia. Characteristically, houses of this type have a central hearth with a single brick masonry chimney rising through the roof peak.

Although the Gabe/Antoine Rouillard Allotment House appears on maps as early as 1920, the architectural features are distinctly different than other Ponca and Santee allotment houses

built during the early twentieth century. The square plan and hipped roof style, known as a hipped-roof-box style, was a common early twentieth century construction style and this building may have been built later than the other allotment homes, when Gabe Rouillard inherited the property from his father Antoine.

### **Historical Background**

According to local Santee resident Clarence Campbell, this building was the residence of Gabe Rouillard. The 1903 township map indicates that the property was originally allotted by Antoine Rouillard, Gabe's father, with Gabe receiving an adjacent 80-acre allotment to the north. Gabe was 21 at the time, and likely lived in the same household as his father. The residence listed on the property in 1903 is significantly farther north than the present location of the house, and it may be that the Gabe Rouillard Allotment House was built after that date. The building first appears on the 1920 Knox County Atlas, although no owner's name is provided. Gabe was living on the property as early as 1930, working as a grain farmer. According to Mr. Campbell, the building was moved to its current location between 1948 and 1949 following the massive flood in 1946 from its original location closer to Bazile Creek.

In 1964, the property was owned by Narcisse Walker. No historical record of Narcisse Walker could be found, however, Narcisse was the name of Antoine Rouillard's youngest daughter, Gabe Rouillard's sister.

### **NRHP Eligibility Recommendation**

The Gabe/Antoine Rouillard Allotment House appears to be a later example of allotment construction. Strikingly dissimilar architecturally from the other allotment homes in the area, with a square floor plan and hipped roof, this building may represent a later addition to the property replacing the original home indicated on the 1903 map. It seems unlikely that Antoine Rouillard would have built a house contemporaneous with Joseph Rouillard of such a drastically different style. Nevertheless, evidence points to this building as being constructed during the allotment period, some time prior to 1920.

Further investigation into this resource is required, including consultation with the Northern Ponca regarding the significant contributions of KX00-382 to Northern Ponca history, before this building can be adequately assessed for NRHP eligibility under Criteria A or B.

Modifications made to the building outside of the allotment period including the replacement of the wall cladding, and the replacement of all of the doors and windows, has impacted the design, workmanship, and materials of the original construction. As a result of these alterations, this building no longer sufficiently conveys its historical significance of allotment period construction, nor does it represent an intact example of allotment period construction. SWCA therefore recommends the Gabe/Antoine Rouillard Allotment House as not eligible for nomination to the NRHP.

This study did not assess the archaeological potential of these resources. As a result, SWCA recommends that the resource remain unevaluated for NRHP eligibility under Criterion D.

## **KX00-373 Crow Allotment House**

### **Site Setting**

The Crow Allotment House is one of five buildings and three structures located within an occupied rural residential property within the primary floodplain of Howe Creek (Figure 26). The former allotment building sits in a small clearing defined by a dense windbreak of large deciduous trees. The surrounding terrain supports a dense mixed woodland community, dominated by species of ash, cottonwood, alder, and maple trees with a moderate to low-density undergrowth of assorted forbs.



**Figure 26. KX00-373, Crow Allotment House, facing northwest.**

### **Architectural Description**

Currently unoccupied, the Crow Allotment House is a single-story example of an early twentieth century rural residence constructed during the Santee allotment period (1889–1934) with later alterations. Stylistically the house represents a variant of a local vernacular type characteristic of Santee Sioux Reservation allotments, with some design elements common to the National Folk Style that was popular in rural areas of the United States between 1850 and 1890 (McAlester and McAlester 1984). The wood framed house has a rear facing T-shaped plan, a cross-gabled roof, and clapboard-clad walls. Oriented facing northeast towards 886 Road, the building has a 32- by 24-foot eight-corner plan composed of a rectangular two-bay original portion compounded with a full bay addition to both the west and the south elevations. The original wall cladding has been replaced with composite horizontal clapboard siding, which skirts the building foundation. The house is equipped with four windows and two doors, arranged in a symmetrical manner on the side elevations and asymmetrically on the front elevation. The windows include three replacement windows and one boarded-up window opening. The replacement windows consist of two fixed pane picture windows with

aluminum frames and a single 1-over-1 sash wood frame window. Both of the doors are single leaf flush aluminum type installed in non-original wood jambs. The roof of the allotment house has a steep cross-gabled form modified by a low-profile shed roof enclosing the west gable end. The roof is covered with asphalt shingles and its overhanging ends are boxed with wood fascia. There are two brick masonry chimneys in the roof including a single chimney centered in the south (rear) addition, and another in the center of the original portion of the house. The southern chimney is finished with a concrete coping, while the forward chimney is plain mortared brick.

In addition to the historic allotment house, four buildings and three other features are located within the property. The additional buildings are a utilitarian shed, a privy, a garage, and the currently occupied residence. The other features include a cistern, a spring well head, and a subterranean storm/root cellar. The garage and modern residence were not recorded per landowner request.

**Shed** – The shed is a single-story wood framed utilitarian building with an 8-foot (east to west) by 12-foot (north to south) rectangular plan, located northwest of the allotment house. The shed has a pole-built frame, clad on the exterior with horizontal composite clapboard siding. The shed has a multiple plane roof composed of a steep side gable comprising one-third of the plan, which extends to a flat roof on the remaining portion. The shed's roof is covered with a mix of asphalt shingles, remnant wood scrap, and corrugated steel panels.

**Privy** – This small rectangular plan outbuilding is located west of the allotment house. The privy lacks a foundation, and has wood frame walls clad on the exterior with horizontal wood siding. Typical of rural privies, this building has a low-sloping shed roof covered with corrugated steel paneling.

**Spring** – Located south of the allotment house is a natural spring at the base of the rise on the south end of the property. The spring well structure consists of a shallow circular depression marked by a cobble stone masonry retaining wall, forming a semi-circular footprint that is capped with a cylindrical steel standpipe.

**Cistern** – Located immediately east and down slope of the spring, the cistern consists of a 6-foot-diameter circular well, approximately 3 feet deep, that is lined with a poured concrete wall around the entire circumference.

**Cellar** – This feature is a collapsed subterranean dugout root/storm cellar located immediately southwest of the allotment house. The dugout cellar is of earth construction, and consists of a circular excavated room that is accessed via a concrete-lined entry in the northwest wall. The entry is covered with sediment and sod, and is not clearly visible but appears to have a poured concrete frame supporting a wooden door leaf.

### **Historical Background**

According to the 1903 county atlas, the property on which this building is located was part of George Crow's allotted land, a fact supported by local Santee resident Clarence Campbell. The 1903 map does not indicate any buildings standing on the allotment in 1903, but shows that the alignment of 886 Road originally jogged south through George Crow's property. This

original alignment places 886 Road following the ridgeline to the south of the allotment building. In 1920, the county atlas shows the allotment house in its present location; however 886 Road followed a slightly different alignment, following the ridgeline south of the property. The 1964 county atlas shows the allotment building again, but 886 Road had shifted to its present alignment, following the section line north of the property.

George Crow and his wife Emma were both born in Minnesota, and moved to Knox County along with the rest of the Santee in the 1860s. George worked as a farmer on his allotted land, raising several children. Their eldest son Charles (Charlie) Crow moved in with them some time between 1910 and 1920. When his father passed away, Charlie Crow remained in his family's home. During the depression years in the 1930s and 1940s, Charlie Crow, who was helping to support his large family as well as his extended family, was forced to sell half of his allotted lands just to get by (Crow 2010). Mr. Campbell remembers the place as Charlie Crow's old home. Charlie Crow passed away in 1958, leaving his estate to Eliza Walker Crow. The property is currently occupied by Charles Crow's granddaughter, Darlene Crow (Crow 2010).

### **NRHP Eligibility Recommendation**

The Crow Allotment House is an extant but substantially modified example of an allotment house dating to the Santee allotment period (1889–1934). One of the most detrimental effects of Santee Sioux allotment was the loss of land and the emigration of Santee families due to the turbulent economic conditions during the allotment period and throughout the twentieth century. Land sales due to complicated inheritance systems, or to pay off incurred debts resulted in very few families retaining their original allotments over multiple generations. Difficulties in developing successful farming and stock raising operations on allotment properties encouraged many Santee children to leave their families allotted land and search for employment elsewhere. The Crow Allotment House is an example of a multiple-generation occupation of an allotment property by a single family. Although altered from its original form, the continuous occupation of KX00-373 by the Crow family on its original allotment until at least the 1960s provides an excellent example of the successful navigation of the difficult economic conditions during and after the allotment period. This study therefore recommends KX00-373 as eligible for nomination to the NRHP under Criterion A.

Further investigation into this resource is required, including consultation with the Santee Sioux regarding KX00-373 and its association with the Crow family, before this building can be adequately assessed for NRHP eligibility under Criterion B.

Although the building has been altered from its original design, the original portion of the building shares similar architectural features to many of the other Santee allotment houses in the area including a simple two-bay rectangular plan, steeply pitched side gabled roof, and a central brick masonry chimney. Although the building remains in good overall condition, alterations made to the building outside of the period of significance include the southern and western additions to the original massing, re-siding of the building, and the replacement of several windows. These alterations have cumulatively resulted in diminished integrity of design, workmanship, and materials, and consequently, the building cannot convey its significant association with the history of the Santee allotment, nor serve as a well-preserved



example of the Santee allotment house type. As a result, this study recommends KX00-373 as not eligible for nomination to the NRHP under Criterion C.

This study did not assess the archaeological potential of these resources. As a result, SWCA recommends that the resource remain unevaluated for NRHP eligibility under Criterion D.

### **KX00-374 Wabasha Allotment House**

#### **Site Setting**

The Wabasha Allotment House is an historical allotment farmstead consisting of a standing building and three associated features on an elevated site overlooking the Missouri River floodplain to the north and the town of Santee to the northwest (Figure 27). The building is situated on a level secondary terrace of the Missouri River which transitions into gently rolling upland terrain at the southern extent of the property. The site provides a commanding view to the north and the west. Vegetation within the site and surrounding terrain is dominated by overgrown short prairie grasses interspersed by sparse stands of immature deciduous tree species including alder, maple, and cottonwood.



**Figure 27. KX00-374, Wabasha Allotment House, facing southwest.**

#### **Architectural Description**

The Wabasha Allotment House is an abandoned, single-story example of an early twentieth century rural residence with later alterations constructed during the Santee allotment period (1889–1934). The residence is not an example of a particular style, however, its design characteristics suggest the influence of the National Folk Style, popular throughout the United States between approximately 1850 and 1890 (McAlester and McAlester 1984).



Currently abandoned, the Wabasha Allotment House has an L-shaped plan composed of a north ell and an east-facing ell, with an overall footprint measuring 24 feet 4 inches (east to west) by 24 feet 4 inches (north south). The foundation is raised to form a weather sill that supports wood framed walls clad with two distinct materials: the original narrow horizontal clapboard siding and more recently added vertical channel composite wood panels.

The house is fenestrated with two windows, and has two separate entries. The two door openings are located in the interior corner of the L-shaped plan along the north and the east elevations, both opening onto a poured concrete patio. The eastern entry consists of a flush metal door leaf set into a boxed wood jamb, and the north entry consists of a single-entry opening covered with an oversized flush metal door leaf facing north. The two window openings are located on the north and east elevations. Both are vertically oriented and rectangular, and are now covered by wooden doors. The house is covered by a steeply pitched cross gable roof, covered with rolled asphalt composite paper.

The overhanging roof eaves are boxed and finished with a molded wood frieze board. A single, brick masonry chimney rises from the center of the roof line and the stack is fitted with an extended metal flue closed with a spark arrestor cap.

Substantial alterations to the original design of the allotment building have altered the architectural character of the original allotment house. Included in these alterations is the replacement of the wall cladding, the removal of several window and door openings, and the replacement of the primary door.

In addition to the allotment house are two associated, non-architectural features: a modern sweat lodge and an historic artifact scatter within the Wabasha Allotment property. The archaeological features include a cistern, a storm/root cellar depression, and an historic artifact scatter.

Cistern – Immediately southeast of the allotment house is a small circular depression of unknown function. By appearances, the circular depression resembles the remains of a well or cistern. The depression has been covered with wood planks.

Depression – Immediately south of the allotment house is a storm/root cellar depression banked into a north-facing slope face. The depression consists of a 5-foot-deep circular earth dugout depression with a well-defined east-facing entrance. Very little of the dugout remains, however, numerous concrete masonry blocks are situated in the interior walls. Based on the shape of the depression, and the debris located within the interior, it appears that whatever structure once stood in this location was removed using heavy equipment such as a bulldozer or backhoe.

In addition to the two archaeological features there is a scatter of historic artifacts located immediately south of the residence. The scatter consists primarily of milled wood building debris and miscellaneous metal scrap, with occasional upholstered seat cushions and other unidentified miscellaneous debris scattered within.

### **Historical Background**

Historic records indicate that this property was part of the land allotted to Napoleon Wabasha (Figure 28). Napoleon Wabasha was the son of the late Chief Wabasha who passed away in 1876. Although Napoleon was the hereditary chief of the Sioux, following the passing of his father, Chief Wabasha, the Santee decided to change their political system to an elected council (Meyer 1993). Napoleon had some religious training, possibly at the Santee Normal School, but also farmed his allotted land. Napoleon Wabasha became a United States citizen in 1909, and was the first of his family to do so (Dockstader 1977). Napoleon married Natalia Graham, and the couple raised several children. Napoleon passed away in 1925 and the property passed into the hands of his children.

According to the 1960 Santee Township map, the property was owned at that time by Jeannette Wabasha. Local resident Clarence Campbell recalls that the house was occupied in the 1960s by Jack Wabasha and his grandmother. Mr. Campbell indicated that Jack Wabasha was a direct descendent of Napoleon's father Chief Wabasha, and related that the alterations to the building were made by Jack during his occupation. The house has been boarded up and is no longer occupied.



**Figure 28. Napoleon Wabasha, ca. 1899. (Photograph courtesy of Minnesota Historical Society.)**

### **NRHP Eligibility Recommendation**

The Wabasha Allotment House is an extant example of allotment period construction dating to the Santee Sioux allotment period (1889–1934). One of the most detrimental effects of Santee Sioux allotment was the loss of land and the emigration of Santee families due to the turbulent economic conditions during the allotment period and throughout the twentieth century. Land sales due to complicated inheritance systems, or to pay off incurred debts, resulted in very few families retaining their original allotments over multiple generations. Difficulties in developing successful farming and stock raising operations on allotment properties encouraged many Santee children to leave their families' allotted land and search for employment elsewhere. The Wabasha Allotment House is an example of a multiple-generation occupation of an allotment property by a single family. Although altered from its original form, the continuous occupation of KX00-374 by the Wabasha family on its original allotment until at least the 1960s provides an excellent example of the successful navigation of the difficult economic conditions during and after the allotment period. This study therefore recommends the Wabasha Allotment House (KX00-374) as eligible for nomination to the NRHP under Criterion A.

Further investigation into this resource is required, including consultation with the Santee Sioux regarding KX00-374 and its association with the Wabasha family, before this building can be adequately assessed for NRHP eligibility under Criterion B.

The building has been modified from its original form, but visible within the existing building are several architectural features common to many of the allotment homes built during the early twentieth century including the steeply pitched gabled roof, asymmetrical window and door placement, and central brick masonry chimney. Alterations made to the building during the 1960s, outside of the period of significance, including the replacement of the original siding, the sealing of all window and door openings on the east elevation, and the re-cladding of the roof have impacted the design, workmanship, and materials of the original building. Consequently, the building lacks sufficient integrity to effectively convey its significant association with the history of the Santee allotment period, or to serve as a well-preserved example of Santee allotment domestic architecture. This study therefore recommends that the Wabasha Allotment House be considered not eligible for nomination to the NRHP under Criterion C.

This study did not assess the archaeological potential of these resources. As a result, SWCA recommends that the resource remain unevaluated for NRHP eligibility under Criterion D.

## **KX00-372 Johnson/Henry Allotment House**

### **Site Setting**

The Johnson/Henry Allotment House is an abandoned former allotment house, located within an active agricultural property containing at least four agricultural ancillary buildings and structures situated on a level secondary floodplain of Hobu Creek (Figure 29). The western portion of the site has been cleared of trees, but the eastern portion of the property, including the area surrounding the former allotment house, is dominated by moderately dense riparian woodland communities including an overstory of maple, ash, cottonwood, and alder tree species.



**Figure 29. KX00-372, Johnson/Henry Allotment House, obscured by trees, facing east.**

### **Architectural Description**

At the time of survey, property access was not granted; as a result, the allotment property was surveyed from the ROW. The deep setback of the complex from the road limited the visibility of the allotment house, and therefore only a summary description is possible. The Johnson/Henry Allotment House is a single-story example of a rural residence constructed during the Santee allotment period (1889–1934). Currently unoccupied, the wood frame house exhibits an L-shaped plan composed of intersecting south and west wings covered by a steeply pitched cross gabled roof. The exterior walls are clad with horizontal clapboard siding, and the roof is clad with asphalt shingles. No windows were visible from the surveyor's vantage point, and no additional architectural details could be observed from the ROW.

### **Historical Background**

This allotment house was built sometime between 1903 and 1920. According to the 1903 county atlas, Henry Johnson owned the property on which this allotment house was later built. The house first appears on the 1920 Hill Township map on land still owned by Henry Johnson. Henry Johnson was born in Minnesota, and had moved to Knox County along with the rest of the Santee in the 1860s following the Santee Uprising. Johnson farmed his allotted land and lived with his wife, children, and extended family, including his mother-in-law Mary Henry. By 1930, 62-year-old Johnson was living as a boarder with his wife's extended family.

According to local Santee resident Clarence Campbell, Isaac, Bessie, and Deloris Henry lived in this allotment house until the 1960s. The 1960 county atlas shows the building standing in its current location, but identifies it as vacant. Historical records make no mention of Isaac, Bessie, or Delores Henry living in the area. At the present time the former allotment house is vacant, and the property originally allotted to Johnson is part of an active agricultural or ranching operation.

### **NRHP Eligibility Recommendation**

Due to limited access to the property, many of the architectural details of the Johnson/Henry Allotment House could not be recorded. Nevertheless, based on observations made from the public ROW, the building shares many architectural characteristics similar to other Santee allotment houses dating to the early twentieth century including the simple, L-shaped plan, clapboard siding, and steep gabled roof. Specific alterations to the original design were not observed, but this may be due to the limited visibility of the building from the ROW. Census records and accounts from local residents indicate that this building was occupied by members of the Santee Sioux through at least the 1960s. Although the historical background indicates that this building is a former allotment building, the limited visibility of the property makes it impossible to assess the overall historical integrity of this resource. As a result, SWCA recommends that the resource remain unevaluated for NRHP eligibility until a more detailed recording of this property can be conducted.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

In 2009 and 2010, SWCA conducted documentary research and an architectural survey of the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux allotment period (1889–1934). This survey was sponsored with grant support provided by the U.S. Department of the Interior and administered by the National Park Service. The primary goals of the Ponca and Santee Sioux allotment period survey and inventory included 1) the development of a pre-field historic overview, including a history of the allotment period, settlement patterns, and the distribution of the allotments; and 2) reconnaissance and intensive survey of any allotment period buildings still standing within the boundaries of the original allotment lands, including the compilation and assessment of all survey data, recommendations for NRHP eligibility, and the completion of the appropriate NeSHPO forms documenting each of the recorded buildings.

Archival research, interviews with local informants, and a preliminary field reconnaissance were conducted in May 2009. The field survey of identified architectural resources was conducted in October 2009. In total, 11 extant allotment period buildings were identified as a

result of this survey (Table 1), and included two former Northern Ponca allotment buildings and nine former Santee Sioux allotment buildings.

Where sufficient information was available to make an adequate evaluation of NRHP eligibility, identified allotment period resources were evaluated under Criteria A and C for their architectural significance as examples of allotment architecture and for their association with the allotment period. Buildings were left unevaluated under Criterion B, since evaluation for the significance of individuals associated with these resources should be made through consultation with the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux. The resources identified through this study were not evaluated for their archaeological potential and were therefore not evaluated under Criterion D.

Four of the identified allotment buildings (KX00-373, KX00-374, KX00-379, and KX00-381) are recommended eligible for nomination to the NRHP under Criterion A as examples of allotment architecture associated with multiple-generation allotment occupations by a single family. Land loss resulting from emigration and the difficult economic conditions during and following the allotment period resulted in very few of the original allotments remaining under Ponca and Santee control. These buildings represent examples of households that not only survived these difficult conditions, but in some cases thrived in spite of them.

Two of the identified Santee allotment buildings, the Abraham/Frazier Allotment House (KX00-214) and the Star Frazier Allotment House (KX00-380), are recommended eligible for nomination to the NRHP under Criterion C as representative examples of Santee allotment period architecture.



**Table 1. Architectural Resources Recorded during the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux Allotment Survey.**

Resource Number	Cultural Affiliation	Historic Name	NRHP Eligibility Recommendation			
			Criterion A	Criterion B	Criterion C	Criterion D
KX00-384	Northern Ponca	Mary Knudsen Allotment Building	Needs Data / Tribal Consultation	Needs Data / Tribal Consultation	Not Eligible	Unevaluated
KX08-042	Northern Ponca	William Bear Allotment House	Not Eligible	Needs Data / Tribal Consultation	Not Eligible	Unevaluated
KX00-214	Santee Sioux	Abraham/Frazier Allotment House	Needs Data / Tribal Consultation	Needs Data / Tribal Consultation	Eligible	Unevaluated
KX00-372	Santee Sioux	Henry/Johnson Allotment House	Needs Data / Tribal Consultation	Needs Data / Tribal Consultation	Needs Data	Unevaluated
KX00-373	Santee Sioux	Crow Allotment House	Eligible	Needs Data / Tribal Consultation	Not Eligible	Unevaluated
KX00-374	Santee Sioux	Wabasha Allotment House	Eligible	Needs Data / Tribal Consultation	Not Eligible	Unevaluated
KX00-379	Santee Sioux	Albert Frazier Allotment House	Eligible	Needs Data / Tribal Consultation	Not Eligible	Unevaluated
KX00-380	Santee Sioux	Star Frazier Allotment House	Not Eligible	Needs Data / Tribal Consultation	Eligible	Unevaluated
KX00-381	Santee Sioux	Rouillard Allotment House	Eligible	Needs Data / Tribal Consultation	Not Eligible	Unevaluated
KX00-382	Santee Sioux	Gabe Rouillard Allotment House	Needs Data / Tribal Consultation	Needs Data / Tribal Consultation	Not Eligible	Unevaluated
KX00-383	Santee Sioux	Zimmerman Allotment House	Not Eligible	Needs Data / Tribal Consultation	Not Eligible	Unevaluated

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